

MARCH, 1949

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# SOCIAL ORDER

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*For Private Circulation*

# SOCIAL ORDER

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. . . just a few things:

Unlimited credit for recent issues of SOCIAL ORDER is due to the five associate editors whom the Fathers Provincial appointed last year, Father George, Messrs. Burke, McDonnell, Ratterman and Schuyler. Their hard, devoted work, their own contributions and those they have secured from other theologians have been a great boon. Mr. Schuyler, incidentally, is at work on another study of social justice which may appear before the end of the year.

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There has been a remarkable amount of interest in Father George's two articles on "The Family Living Wage."

One writer said: "I think those articles should come to the attention of every professor of economics, business administration, etc., in every Catholic college in the country. They should be distributed at labor schools and schools of social action."

Another wrote to Father George: "Your elucidation of Papal doctrine, particularly on QA, is so detailed and clear, and your conclusions on the relation of social justice to commutative are so cogent, that I don't see how opponents can any longer reject your stand except by openly rejecting Papal teaching."

And another: "His article has convinced me that I shall probably have to revise my ideas completely."

Nearly everyone has asked whether the articles will be reprinted. Very likely this will be done, and the combined articles will be issued in pamphlet form. If you want copies for sale or distribution, it will help greatly if you would let us know in advance about how many copies you can use.

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The response to Father Bernard's article, "Consequences of Racial Segregation," has been equally great. It will probably be reprinted in the *American Catholic Sociological Review*. This was done once before, in the case of Father Edward S. Dunn's article, "Catholic Senators and Representatives."

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The story behind Father Clarke's article on the Industrial Councils law in Belgium is a short epic. I wrote to him about it early in April, 1947. He spent a month making preliminary examinations of the subject before undertaking the job. After that, much of his leisure until the end of August



was spent on the article. He read everything he could lay his hands on, talked to Jesuits, businessmen, workers, officials of trade and labor organizations, members of the government.

By August, the article was completed. Then came a shock. From one of his friends he learned that important amendments were to be introduced in the fall session of Parliament. He wrote to me early in August: "Although I have the first draft done, I find the ground slipping from under my feet as I work. The legislators working on the new bill, instead of taking their expected vacation, suddenly dived into work again."

He suggested waiting until the bill passed in definitive form before sending the article on. Obviously this was the only thing to do, so he continued gathering material until late September, when the law was finally approved. His article discusses not only the law but some of the more significant amendments that were rejected.

And all this in the midst of a bien-nium of philosophy.

Quite a few have asked about the "Letters" section which used to appear regularly in SOCIAL ORDER. That is easy to answer. It died during the starvation-winter of 1947-48. Most of the letters that come in now are clearly not intended for publication. That is unfortunate, because many good ideas die here on my desk, instead of being circulated to all readers of the magazine. Would you like to see "Letters" resumed?

•

Since February, 1947, I have been trying to interest someone in doing an article about the American Bar Association recommendations on uniform divorce laws. My best hope, a professor of law at Loyola in New Orleans, begged off because he is busy on a revision of the Louisiana General Statutes. Fortunately I discovered that Mr. Robert F. Drinan, S.J., (Chicago) who is studying law at Georgetown was interested in the subject and had collected all pertinent material. His article will appear soon in SOCIAL ORDER.

F. J. C.. S.J.

# CHURCH AND COMMUNISM IN HUNGARY

## *Cardinal Mindszenty's Arrest Part of Campaign*

"Crux"

*The author of this article is a Hungarian refugee living in Europe. Written before the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty, it gives a brief review of the Communist regime there.—Ed.*

THE ARREST OF Josef Cardinal Mindszenty on December 26, 1948, made headlines all over the world and, for a minute, lifted the Iron Curtain to let the free nations of the world witness the last developments of a battle between justice and force. A few days before his arrest the Cardinal encouraged his priests with the words of St. Paul: "Now you must feel more than ever—that we have been made a spectacle to the world, and to angels, and to men." These words for him have become a stark reality.

If we look for the antecedents of the arrest we have to see briefly: 1. how the Communists won political power in Hungary against an anti-Communist majority, 2. how, possessing that power, they are fighting against the Church.

### **Suppress Political Freedom**

In the last year of the war, the Red Army occupied Hungary, and the Moscow-trained Communist leaders started their propaganda immediately. They had the complete support of the Russian Army, received money, automobiles, everything they needed, whereas the anti-Communist Independent Smallholders Party had to wage their campaign with the most simple means.

Transportation and mail service were so slow then that they could not even reach some parts of the country. The Communists, on the contrary, were flooding the towns and villages with posters, pamphlets, speeches, but the people could not be seduced by them. The behavior of the Red soldiers was the most effective propaganda against Communism.

The Communists were confident and sure of victory. For this reason, they allowed a free ballot which, to their greatest surprise, gave the Smallholders Party an absolute majority. The people were jubilant, but Russia's Marshal Woroshilow, the rumor goes, furiously slapped the Hungarian Communist-boss Rákosi in the face.

Unfortunately, the victorious Smallholders could not form a cabinet of their own but had to cooperate in a coalition with the Communist and Socialist parties. That was the direct result of the Yalta Conference.

With the help of the Allied Control Council for Hungary, in which the word of the Russians was law, the Communists and the Communist-infiltrated Socialists got the two most important portfolios: the Ministry of the Interior, which controlled the police, and the Ministry of Justice, with the



courts. At that time, as on the highest levels of world politics, too, there were many in Hungary who honestly believed that cooperation with Communism might be possible.

### **Pretend Cooperation**

But cooperation was not sincere. For instance, Communist authorities made a great show of welcoming the Apostolic Nuncio, Archbishop Angelo Rotta. Yet, within a few months, he was advised to leave the country and return to Rome. Agreements were often made, but were systematically violated until the Communists had achieved the position they wished. After they secured control of the police and of the courts, it was a common matter to have people arrested and tried on either fictitious charges or accusations so absurd that they would not have been accepted in any responsible court.

I recall a case now. I went to see a trial in the People's Court when a priest, Father Karácsonyi, was questioned. One of the Communist judges accused him of having established nurseries. Thus, said the judge, he cooperated with Capitalism because he made it possible for women to go to work, while they ought to have stayed at home raising their children. So Father Karácsonyi helped Capitalism in exploiting labor. He was condemned to 12 years in prison for this and other "atrocities."

In two years, the Communists had advanced so far that they accused the prime minister, Ferenc Nagy, and the leaders of the Smallholders with plotting against the government. Staging a trial, they ousted Nagy, arrested those leaders of the Smallholders who could not escape. By that step, they got full control of the country.

### **Disqualify Voters**

They had already made certain that they would be able to hold political control, once it had been secured, by manipulating the voting lists. During

late 1946 and early 1947, Communist leaders carried out a mass disqualification of voters. Any citizen known to be opposed to the Communist regime was liable to disfranchisement. Even a technical quibble about residence or other voting qualifications was employed. When no technicality could be discovered, completely false and often ludicrous reasons were alleged. Thus many people, including educators and professional men, were disqualified for insanity; others were stricken from the lists under charge of being Nazis, persecutors or immoral. On the other hand, Communist sympathizers were given every assistance in the practice of multiple-voting.

Seeing that drama from outside, one can hardly imagine how it is possible that a small minority keeps the majority subjugated, and one can hardly believe that the majority is unable to get rid of the dictatorship. It may be that ten years ago I would not have believed that, either, but now, after seeing the secret-police system closely, I agree with Aristotle that a dictatorship can be overthrown only by help from outside. Any movement inside the borders to overcome the dictatorship helps only the secret police, giving them excuse for imprisoning people by hundreds and thousands. Plotting serves their interests so much that the Communists invent plots if there are no bona fide ones.

### **Attempt to Win People**

In the beginning, the Communists tried to make the people and the priests believe that they were not against any religion. All the Russian officers or soldiers with whom I spoke in the first weeks of the occupation sang the same tune: We don't persecute religion; that is a dirty slander of the fascists against us; there is complete freedom of religion in Russia too.

In the first days of the occupation I went to see the military command

of a district. Posters admonished us that if there were any complaint of the population, anybody might go with confidence to the commander, because the Red Army stood for order and justice. Well, there were plenty of complaints against the Red soldiers, and so I decided to go to headquarters. The commander received me very politely and promised everything (of course, he did nothing) and then lectured me on freedom of religion and told me that if religious services and teaching in the school had not started yet in my village, we should begin it immediately.

### Forced to Say Mass

It seems that it was the duty of the officers to play this record to the pastors when they occupied a village. Some cases might have been written for the comics. It was about midnight when the Russians marched into a little village. The commander bade the pastor to go to the church and say Mass. When the priest explained that it is not allowed to say Mass at this time, the officer, in the name of religious freedom, forced the priest at gunpoint to ring the bell and say the Mass.

This little story is a good illustration of the Communist opinion on religious freedom. Yes, they give a certain "freedom" to the Church if she is willing to serve them and obeys their commands.

The Communists went even so far that they collected money for the restoration of churches damaged during the war.

But Catholics were not deceived by his attitude. They had had experience of similar attempts by earlier regimes and had no intention of cooperating with a force dedicated to violence and atheism.

### Change Tactics

When it became evident to the Communists that the Church was not will-

ing to be one of their satellites, they applied their usual methods and launched an attack against "reactionary" priests, and Catholics, put the stigma of fascism on Catholic societies, which were then suppressed. Priests and religious became "enemies of the people," and worst of them all was Cardinal Mindszenty. He was called enemy of social progress, friend and spy of imperialists and even a fascist, though he had been imprisoned by the Nazis.

A campaign of relentless liquidation was carried on against all Catholic organizations and activities. One of the first groups to be suppressed was the Christian Social Party; early in 1947, the Catholic trade unions and *Kalot*, the rural youth organization, followed. During the past years, there has been a steady attack upon Catholic periodicals and books until, at the time of Cardinal Mindszenty's arrest, there was not a single Catholic daily newspaper in the entire country, only one weekly newspaper and one purely religious periodical. Catholic literature, and especially Catholic textbooks, were steadily eliminated.

The abrupt nationalization of Church landholdings, with no provision for reimbursement, left Catholic charitable institutions of all kinds impoverished. The last big step, prior to the arrest of Cardinal Mindszenty, was the nationalization of the entire school system.

### Try to Split Catholics

In the churches, Communist spies listened attentively to the sermons to find some words of the preachers which could be distorted and so be an excuse for a trial. Pastoral letters of the Cardinal were confiscated; processions where Mindszenty was to appear, forbidden. Petitions were circulated in the offices, schools, factories protesting against the reactionary activity of the Primate. Refusing to sign them meant losing one's job. Demonstrations were



organized in the streets; even "sodalists" protested. A bishop received those "sodalists" and asked them about sodality rules and organization. Of course, they could not answer the questions.

The Communists were very anxious to prove they are not against religion, but only against the reactionary priests and bishops, who were involved in politics. By that "plebiscite" they wanted to demonstrate that the "good and progressive" Catholics are of their opinion and disapprove the behavior of Mindszenty.

In order to persuade the people that the hierarchy opposed their best interests, and especially to separate the Primate from both the hierarchy and his people, rumors were circulated that there were serious differences of opinion amongst the bishops about the proper attitude of the Church toward the Communist-dominated regime.

### Violence Grows

From the very beginning of Russian occupation, there had been violence against clergy and religious. Bishop Vilmos Apor and several priests were killed in April, 1945, while attempting to defend the civilian population from the violence of the Red Army. Local clergymen were arrested for any effort made to defend their people. In June, 1948, a reliable authority estimated that more than 600 religious and diocesan priests were imprisoned. Many had been taken to Russia where, supposedly, they were confined in work camps. In October, 1948, 87 Catholic priests were deported to Russia in two sealed trucks.

During the months immediately preceding the Cardinal's arrest, this campaign increased immeasurably, although accurate figures on the number of arrests are impossible to secure. It should be noted, for instance, that the communiqué announcing the seizure of Cardinal Mindszenty also reported the

arrest of eight priests and four laymen.

Despite attacks and vilification, there is no more popular man in Hungary than Mindszenty. The simple news that he was coming was enough to bring people together by the thousands. The more he was attacked by the Communists, the more he was loved by the people. The thousand-years-old history of Hungary does not know another man about whom the people were more enthusiastic.

### Defended Church

What then did he do — this man around whom the waves of love and hatred were storming? Nothing else but defend the rights of God, Church and countrymen with heroic courage even when he knew that this would cost his life. He expressed the sufferings of the nation, criticised injustices, taught and directed the people. He was the *bonus pastor* who was not silent when his duty was to speak; he fought for the rights of the Church in education, religious organization, press and propaganda, spoke on behalf of humanity and social justice.

In a sermon delivered on January 20, 1946, preached on the text, "1241" the Cardinal obliquely warned his people of the danger that threatened them. 1241 is the date of the Mongolian invasion of Europe, and every Hungarian recalled that the Mongols, entering Hungary from the east, attacked the Germans, but then turned and ravaged Hungary. His pastoral letters and sermons were vigorous calls upon the people to stand firm in their Catholic faith and practice.

Tremendous crowds gathered for his sermons. On one occasion, it was estimated that almost a quarter of a million gathered outside Budapest to hear him preach, and the crowd of women who came to his sermon later was even greater. Despite every obstacle which authorities could place



in their way, 28,000 pilgrims journeyed to the shrine of Our Lady at Bodajk to make the pilgrimage with him this year (1948).

### Arrest Foreshadowed

There was plenty of warning about what was soon to happen. The highest authorities in the Communist government had made it clear that Cardinal Mindszenty had to be removed. The prime minister, Lajos Dinnyes, bitterly attacked Cardinal Mindszenty as a reactionary during November and asserted that the Hungarian people were determined "to break the reactionary power of the purple." In order to substantiate this assertion that the people leagued with the Communists, petitions and resolutions were collected from all parts of Hungary under compulsion. The people were forced, under various threats, to sign these resolutions calling for removal of the Cardinal from his position. Recognizing the terrible difficulties under which the people lived, Archbishop Mindszenty absolved them from any obligation to refuse to sign. At the same time he expressed his admiration and gratitude for those who refused to submit to even the most violent coercion. He later made it clear, however, that he did not absolve priests and religious from their obligation to refuse.

In this public statement, issued on November 16, he said:

Contrary to frequent official promises, no local elections have been held in Hungary, outside of Budapest, since the end of World War II. Hence the resolutions published by county, city and village authorities have no constitutional value. Such action is only an insincere pretence at public life to issue statements completely opposed to the unanimous opinion of an entire nation that has been deprived of the means of constitutional life and doomed to silence under threat of losing food and liberty. There are similar examples of loss of employment and other unfortunate consequences resulting from attempts to exercise democratic freedom of speech. I deeply sympathize with those

who face such coercion. But at the same time I am inspired by the splendid examples of constancy and fidelity.

Another government minister recently called for the liquidation of clerical reaction and accused the Primate of being "the head of reaction." Early in the year, Matyas Rakosi, addressing a Communist meeting, had said "the task of democracy this year is to settle the relationship between the Church and the Republic. It cannot continue that a majority of the enemies of the people should hide behind the cloak of the churches, especially the Catholic Church."

### Status Disguised at Arrest

An official in the ministry of public instruction stated in a speech last November that "it is not enough to be loyal towards the government; we demand that everyone shall be an active militant of the people's democracy. . . . Teachers must find in all questions, even in those that are apparently non-political, the point of view under which they can deal with them as aspects of the great problem of the people's democracy advancing toward Socialism."

Seizure of priests had been so frequent that the government issued an order requiring them, when notified of their arrest, to change from clerical garb into civilian clothes so as not to cause a disturbance among the people. The arrest in the fall of Msgr. Zakar, one of the Cardinal's private secretaries, was the final warning of what was soon to come. After that, it was merely a matter of time, during which the Communist authorities redoubled their efforts to isolate the Prelate.

Another of the Cardinal's secretaries, who succeeded in escaping to Austria, gives the following account of the last days before the arrest:

The Primate knew for several weeks that his arrest had been decided, but he preferred to remain on the national territory. He was able, nevertheless, before being arrested, to call a Conference of all

the Hungarian Bishops, to whom he denounced the "manoeuvres of the Government," indicating that it was not possible to negotiate under the conditions imposed by the authorities. He revealed at this conference that the Government had been threatening to "freeze" the taxes which provide all the Church's revenue, which would have meant condemning all Catholic priests to penury.

He wrote in his second-last pastoral letter: "I stand for God, Church and Country because this duty has been imposed on me by the historical service of my Nation, the loneliest one in the great world. My fate is not important, compared to the sufferings of the country."

### Ordered by Cominform

According to the *L'Osservatore Romano*, it was the Cominform that gave orders to the Hungarian Communists last summer to arrest Mindszenty. The deadline was the end of 1948. It seems that the order was very unpleasant to the Hungarian Communists, the task being hard even for their satanic cynicism. A committee was formed for the arrest of Mindszenty, and they did their job just a few days before the final date set.

After the arrest of his secretary, Msgr. Zakar, Cardinal Mindszenty had remained quietly in his episcopal palace at Esztergom. There he was arrested in the evening of December 26. He was accused of plotting a royalist restoration in Hungary, of high treason, of espionage and of foreign currency abuses.

The Communists refer to alleged or real letters of the Cardinal to Mr. Schoenfeld and Mr. Chapin, both envoys of the United States to Budapest. In these letters, he expressed his general political views and observations on Hungary, asked the envoy for intervention in the persecution of the Hungarians in Czechoslovakia. In another letter, he asked for the help of the representative of the United States in the case of the crown of St. Stephan,

the national relic in the hands of the American Army in Germany. He wanted to place it in the care of the Pope, until it could be brought back to Hungary.

### Protect Crown

All this is regarded by the Reds as treason, spying and plotting against the Republic. In the case of the crown of St. Stephan, he fulfilled only his duty. As Primate of Hungary he was one of the official guards of the holy crown which is the greatest national treasure of the Hungarians.

He has been accused of preparing for the restoration of the kingdom. Apparently, the facts which are alleged are erroneous and probably false. It is understood here that the accusation which involve Americans in the United States have been denied by those concerned. It may be that Cardinal Mindszenty is a royalist and hopes to see a kingdom restored to Hungary eventually. In a democratic country, there can be no objection to such hopes especially since no plebiscite has been held on the question, as was done, for instance, in the case of Italy. One is sure he did not want to restore the kingdom by revolution or plotting. It is very probable that the majority in Hungary would vote for the king now.

And so the other accusations, too, have either no foundation or are distortions of the truth.

### What Is to be Expected?

Until now, the Hungarian Communists have followed faithfully the methods applied in Russia. If the keep going in this line, we have to take into account the confiscation of religious houses. Secular priests will be liquidated "economically." The people will be so poor as to be unable to support the Church. Laws will be introduced against begging, i.e., collecting. Church properties will be taxed and since they are unable to pay, the churches will be closed. There is an increasing



danger that if their regime lasts long, the Communists will be able to bring up an atheistic youth.

Priests will be forced to admit their guilt of plotting, etc. Pentothal\*, a drug, and the "electric crown" are means effective enough to weaken mental resistance so much that the victims "confess" and sign everything put before them. Already reports from exiles who have recently escaped from Hungary state that apparently the resistance of Cardinal Mindszenty's secretary, Msgr. Zakar, has been broken down by torture or drugs. We can imagine the bad effect these confessions will have on the faithful. This is a new type of martyrdom, when one is forced to deny the truth for which he is ready to die.

Will Cardinal Mindszenty also be forced to "confess" against himself? He was aware of that possibility. Not long before his arrest he told priests that he had not engaged in any illegal activity, and so they were not to believe "confessions," even if they were shown with his authentic signature. They should consider his signing as the result of "human frailty." Mr. Tibor Eckhardt, who is the most capable man of the Hungarian government-in-exile, told a large crowd at

Toronto on January 25 that this statement of the Cardinal will be published in a very short time.

In the field of economics, *kolchos* (a Russian word for the Communistic agricultural system) and slave labor will be introduced. Newly arrived refugees tell that the building of camps for slave laborers has started already. Those camps will be filled with the "enemies of people."

This view is sad, but, we think, not exaggerated. If Stalin committed atrocities against his own people, why would he spare the Hungarians?

The tragic fate of Hungary and of other Communist-dominated countries is a serious warning to the free nations of the world. The ultimate aim of Communism is world revolution. It must be checked before it is too late. Anybody who dreams of cooperation with it is his own and his country's enemy.

What will be the fate of Cardinal Mindszenty? Probably he will be condemned to death. But whatever may be his fate he merits our respect as a martyr because he made his sacrifice "for the world of justice and charity and also for those who do not know what they are doing."

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\*An article which appeared in the January 15 issue of *The (London) Tablet* speaks of a drug called "actedron." Of this the article says: "Behind the 'full confessions,' the self-accusation and brokenly hanging heads, lurks the dread weapon of Communist tyranny, against which there is no defence: *Actedron*. Today in the Soviet-occupied countries it is common knowledge that any person arrested by the political police is starved for a few days. Then for a week or two the prisoner receives salted fish but no water. When the unfortunate prisoner is on the verge of collapse, then suddenly he is given a drink. It makes no difference whether it is water or soup; the prisoner no longer tastes anything, and he does not notice that a small tablet has been dissolved in this liquid—a tablet of the potent nerve-destroying *actedron*. *Actedron* destroys the nerve centre; it does not kill, only paralyzes. On

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the first day the psychic resistance of the victim is immensely strengthened. For twenty-four hours after swallowing *actedron* it is impossible to extract a confession from the accused. His self-confidence and self-consciousness are unnaturally geared up; he does not feel hunger, his courage is superhuman. Next day the reaction sets in. It begins with a strong headache, and vertigo; then a steadily increasing sense of uncertainty overcomes him. Then the prisoner begins to feel frightened; finally he becomes semi-conscious. He is paralyzed, as though he were in a hypnotic trance. Neither his judgment nor his memory functions any more. He has the impression of having a deadly, paralyzed vacuum in his head. He has an urge blindly to obey the slightest orders, and is psychologically incapable of saying 'no' to anything." This passage is quoted from a statement sent by the Hungarian Bishops to Hungarian clergy abroad.

# RURAL EDUCATION IN FRANCE

## *Fifty Years Experience Lies Behind Training*

H. de Montbron, S.J.

Angers, France

*SOCIAL ORDER printed an article on the Agricultural School at Angers, France, in the November, 1948, issue. Because the school is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary, we are publishing a second article by its Jesuit director.*

### Candidates and Admission

**D**URING THE LATTER PART of September, young men ranging in age from 18 to 22, who are taking an examination very much different from those to which the practices of our university life have accustomed us, can be seen strolling in the seven-acre park situated at 33 Rabelais Street in Angers. These young men come from all corners of France. During the year after the completion of high school, or after completion of the first year of college, they took a sort of advanced rhetoric course which was well balanced by the biological sciences.

As early as spring they had gathered at Angers to sit for the written competitive examinations including philosophy, French, history, geography, botany, zoology, chemistry, physics and mathematics. Such is the nature of the examination to which they would apply themselves. Once they had been admitted into the school, they proceeded by degrees under conditions corresponding very exactly to the rough life of the average French farmer. This direct work in the fields allows the teachers of the different levels of advancement to pass judgment on their rural vocation: Is it solid? Does it withstand the difficulties inherent in manual labor, etc.?

Now they are returning to the school from which they hope to obtain the vocational and social formation which is their object in life. The

examination given at this time is no longer concerned with their school knowledge, but with the candidate's qualities, with his manner of reacting to the world about him, i.e., the rural environment with which he will have to work all his life, with the way in which he attacks his work, with the manner in which he carries through an activity; it is concerned with the individual's feeling for the real, his ability to observe, his sympathy with creation, his method of reasoning, and finally with his approach to humane problems.

### Students Carefully Selected

The school of Angers desires to reserve its forces and its training for young people capable of profiting most and of contributing in the largest measure to the expansion of French rural life.

The candidate already selected by the written examination and by the preparatory probation, which many fail to pass, then appears before several boards which determine whether he possesses these important qualities: rural aptitudes, a farmer's way of looking at things, a desire and personal inclination attracting him towards agriculture, just as the artist is attracted towards the arts, but with a decisive and mature judgment, a deep love for manual labor and an accurate sense for detail. He must also be a man of tested virtue, a man of social sense, one possessed of a certain



amount of culture, and, above all, a man of good sense and balance, as well as strength and good health.

Educators, land owners, and a medical specialist comprise the board of examiners, who endeavor, above all, to guide the vocational orientation of the young students who are aiming at a most difficult vocation.

### Life at the School

At the end of October, the day school of the E.S.A. (L'Ecole Supérieure Agricole) begins, and the life of one of its members is midway between that of a faculty member and that of a boarder student of a large school. The schedule of courses is a heavy one. Three hours every morning from 8:15 until 11:45 courses are held in two lecture-rooms, and each class is followed by a 15-minute break during which the students smoke and chat or consult their professors in order to clarify points in the lecture.

In the afternoon, if there are no classes, some practical methods are tested in the orchard, vineyard, laboratories, slaughter houses and breeding studs. Usually, the school day is brought to a close by a final class.

### Wide Range of Courses

All the important agricultural subjects are taught: pedology, general agriculture, general chemistry, microbiology, botany, zoology, general zootechnology, special zootechnology, breeding, cattle study, veterinary medicine, aviculture, special agriculture, vine-culture, dendrology, market-gardening culture, etc. Over and above these there are courses in technology, engineering, mechanics, law, economics and an optional course in public speaking, offered to the young men who show promise of becoming well-rounded students. Crowning all this are courses in religion.

After dinner, which is taken either in the mess hall, at the student's recreation center or at the University's

boarding houses, each student returns to his room for an evening of study.

Most of the students rent a room in Angers, under the supervision of the administration which keeps an eye on the lodgers; other students board at the home of a University student. Those who rent their rooms have a freer existence than those who board, and they have the opportunity of cultivating a sense of responsibility by being their own boss.

### Much Lab Work Done

This life of study takes its particular merit from the practical side of farm work. The school itself is situated in a large city, but actual farm work has to be undertaken some distance from the school. At the school itself, however, the students are only able to try out a few organized experiments in the school park.

The farms of Avrillé are the practical laboratory in which class work is tested each week. The students keep a farm notebook, which they write up according to an original method devised by a celebrated teacher, whom the Permanent Secretary of the Academy of Agriculture once spoke of as the foremost farmer of France. His name is M. Levallée. This weekly work on the farms of Avrillé is at one and the same time a course, an inspection of property, an exercise in observation, making possible a thorough study of the evolution of farm cultivation according to seasonal cycles, changes in the weather, and the potentialities of farm work.

At the end of two years of study, the farm notebooks, treating as they do of farm cultivation and cattle raising, make up a handbook of the utmost importance to which the young farmer will be able to refer later, and which even experienced agriculturists might find useful.

On the evening after his first day spent at the farms of Avrillé, each student must put his farm notebook at

the disposal of his colleagues. In this book he has copied down all the information supplied him by his professor, as well as more personal observations and the techniques he has worked out.

### Farms Typical

It is important to note here that the farms of Avrillé, *La Sermonnerie* and *La Pauvrie*, are not model farms, but experimental ones. They are run under the same conditions as any land owned by a farmer of the vicinity. Rent is paid to the owner; gratuitous help from the students is refused and no subsidies are received. Since they are ordinary farms operated by skilled managers, they accomplish more for the farmers of the region because they comprise a center which has benefited the entire West with technical aids comparable to the finest development obtained in the last century by such model farms as *Grand-Jouan* or *Réville*.

It is also to this center at Avrillé that the West is indebted for tillage and improvement of the flat country and the development of several types of wheat well adapted to its soils and climate. By his contact with such advanced farm cultivation and management, the student is put face to face with a situation much like the one he will have on his own farm: a real situation.

Recently the school has taken into charge the departmental farm of Prieuré, which has 160 acres of farm land and vines. It serves as a proving-ground on which the better students of the school can test themselves and their skills. This new form permits all to see, in actual progress, the cultivation of a farm on a larger scale than those 54 farms of Avrillé.

### Report on Work

These trips to Prieuré complete a student's knowledge of the realities of farm work. They are followed by reports that must be given a few days after the visit, and these reports take

the place of the notebook observations made from study at Avrillé.

All studies are checked by weekly examinations, and each month a term paper is given on some important theoretical or practical problem dealing with agriculture, agricultural chemistry, religion, economics, social economics, etc.

Every possible instrument is put at the student's disposal. Let us look at one of the most important helps, the rural library. There are more than 9,000 volumes in this library treating agricultural problems. More than 50 periodicals are always on hand for the use of both teacher and student. People come from distant countries to consult the volumes of this library which is open six hours a day.

It is only necessary to mention, in passing, the enjoyment derived from song festivals, class reunions and the Sunday strolls taken by the students. From recreational activities, as well as from study, come the strong bonds of friendship possessed by every graduating class, a friendship that supports each student as the years go by.

### Stages of Training

The amount of knowledge demanded by the school before it plunges the young man into the thick of his rural vocation has thus been tested. It now remains for the student to acquire during his studies the manual aptitudes of his profession and those practices which will make it possible for him to do his work well. Farm managers and workers help him to correct his mistakes and explain and demonstrate correct as well as wasteful ways of carrying on all farm operations. Two criteria are used in evaluating good techniques: the more efficient and the less fatiguing.

The student must also learn how to see the bond linking one phase of farm cultivation with another. That is why the stage of training which takes up the summer between the first and second years is such an integral part of



the student's school training. Students entrusted to the supervision of experienced agriculturists put into play all their capacities for manual labor and study all the elements that go to make up a well-conducted farm organization. At the finish of this stage of training, the student is obliged to write a paper synthesizing technical, economic and social data, the complexity of which comprises the organization, operation and administration of a farm.

One of the benefits of this period of training is that it points out to the apprentice farmer how much he still does not know, and the wisdom of attending an ordinary farm school.

### Seek Practical Experience

After graduation, two periods of guidance, each lasting for a year, develop further skills of first-rate farm administration. These periods permit the student, bit by bit, to apply the theoretical knowledge learned at Angers. These two periods are of the utmost importance because of the fact that a thesis will not be accepted from anyone who has not put in two years of professional work after his graduation.

Each year between the months of March and June, 120 to 150 students serve a sort of internship under supervision of a competent director. It isn't an easy matter to find a number of competent and self-sacrificing persons to act as directors. But thanks to the spirit of the Alumni of the E.S.A., this problem is always adequately solved and each student is provided for. Business contacts are made and bonds of friendship—even family ties—are formed between the generations of the E.S.A. who are rising in their profession and those who have already successfully established themselves. One of the most gratifying moments in a young student's life is when he, aware that inexperience and lack of capital will keep him from becoming completely settled in his profession before

he reaches his thirtieth year, discovers that he can count on the support and friendship of his elders.

### Lasting Friendships Formed

Get-togethers between different generations of the E.S.A. have been planned or kept up by some.

There is always an alumnus teaching at the school, and at present, five graduates are teaching their younger comrades. This tradition is already an old one. It began with Marcel Petit, a graduate of 1904, who was assistant to the technical director of the E.S.A. until he was succeeded by Pierre Couprie, who graduated in 1919. Until the day of his death, Pierre Couprie was an excellent teacher and an incomparable advisor.

The last Sunday in May is still the occasion for a yearly assembly. On this date, the Agricultural Alumni Association has its celebration, and the freshmen agricultural students can be seen approaching their future teachers with the desire of making a good appearance before them. In general, the day is a very joyous one and profoundly human. It is a day on which the students are presented to their elders through the medium of papers which they read. These papers treat of important social and economic works, some being extracts from the best farm notebooks. A speech contest is sometimes held. Finally, at the end of the day, the alumni present and discuss their mutual agricultural problems.

### Third Year

After the year of practical internship, the student is able to return to the park at Rabelais Street. A little less than half make their third-year studies. In this third-year period, there are more series of courses which the student must take and from which he must absorb a great amount of matter in a short length of time. There are more weekly examinations. All in all,

the curriculum is rather stiff. At this period of advancement, it is a matter of teaching young men whom one year of professional experience has already matured. The student resumes at his leisure the important economic, social and family problems and studies them sympathetically.

Besides the excellent summaries of Christian social teaching, there are many other courses offered: lectures and courses on the family, political law, commercial legislation, rural history, rural literature, unions, co-ops, credit unions, international exchange, and finance. An excellent course in comparative agronomy serves as a practical foundation for all these ideas. Each of these courses, as well as those not mentioned, is handled by an expert.

A particular training period is added to the third year. Four to five weeks are spent in an office of the Federation of Agricultural Organizations. The students grouped in pairs study the workings of this organization and return to school after they have thoroughly acquainted themselves with the relations between its various branches and with the natural and human environment of the department in which they were working.

### Memories of Angers

So during the years just around full manhood, the student takes many courses, applies himself to mastering his future work, and has a close look at the life of the rural world and its particular problems. But besides this, he has the opportunity to take advantage of his leisure, as well as the manifold activities that a university naturally has to offer. It is by means of these activities that the Catholic University puts her finishing touches to the student's formation. Conferences, informal get-togethers, concerts and sports solidify the formation received under professors of the different schools.

Wednesday afternoon of each week is reserved for physical culture, sports and pre-military service. A fine balance always results from the judicious interruption of mental activity by physical exercise.

Within the school itself, many forms of recreation are available for the students. These means of enjoyment make up the *Foyer*. This is the framework for the yearly reunions, band practice and choral presentations. Many lecturers are invited here by the students. These various activities, which are under the direction of a leader elected by the student body, blend to develop a friendly atmosphere which is also a formation for life.

The Catholic Action movement also aids that general formation. Some groups of students attached to the J.A.C. interest themselves in questions set forth by the rural apostolate; they establish contacts with Catholic Action groups of neighboring parishes, and regular relations are kept up with similar movements of the other large agricultural schools.

A Conference of Saint Vincent de Paul allows the students who are members to visit the needy families and to help them in a very practical way. This work gives the students an idea of the difficulties of citizen life.

The years that were spent at Angers appear full of happy memories for those who have lived them, memories of youth, that's true, but still more memories of a common joy for all those men who grew up together for the same ideal, and received the same training.

The students who complete their course in agriculture at Angers leave the University not only trained in the skills a farmer needs and filled with the knowledge that will help him to carry on his work successfully, but formed as a fine Catholic man. As a practical farmer, he carries on the ancient agrarian tradition of France.

# RESPONSIBILITY FOR LIVELIHOOD

*Comment on a Fortune Obiter Dictum*

Philip S. Land, S.J.

ISS

ONE OF THE CHANGES in content introduced in the October, 1948, issue of *Fortune* was a section devoted to labor. The leading article points out to businessmen the new problems that have risen in 25 years as a result of the worker's increased concern with security and his realization of power through trade-union organization.

Management is recognizing the growth of a "dual loyalty" in the worker, loyalty to his company and to his union. Toward this new force competing for worker loyalty, American businessmen have adopted different, often conflicting, attitudes. Some have hoped to keep their workers happy "by profit sharing, psychiatric counseling, and activities described somewhat clankingly as 'human engineering'." Others have resorted to legislation as a restraint upon unions. Hence, upon activities which could win greater loyalty from members. A third group has accepted the situation and chosen to work in full cooperation with union leaders.

## Loyalty Divided

Whatever their attitude toward the growing influence of trade unions, management officials, says *Fortune*, "have

asked whether workers have, *on the job*, tended to identify themselves less than formerly with the business enterprise, to find a new allegiance in the union, a new way of expressing 'we'."

The article continues:

To the degree the question is justified, what might the reason be? Obviously, employing corporations have no legal responsibility for their employees' livelihood comparable to their responsibility for their stockholders' property. And if workers have had a new awareness of this since the depression, important consequences to their search for security may be implied. If so, management, which is committed to some faith in the Protestant ethic emphasizing individual responsibility, risk, and competitiveness, has something to think about.<sup>1</sup>

## Other Sources of Responsibility

*Fortune* might have pointed to factors other than economic security—social and psychological factors—which have contributed to workers' skepticism. If it wished to confine itself exclusively to economic questions, it might have suggested that responsibilities other than legal—moral and ethical responsibilities—rest upon management to assure their employee's livelihood.

<sup>1</sup> *Fortune*, October, 1948, p. 139.



But even if we accept the grounds upon which *Fortune* chooses to consider the issue, management still has something to think about. It will be profitable to do some thinking about the *obiter dictum*, "Obviously, employing corporations have no legal responsibility for their employee's livelihood comparable to their responsibility for their stockholder's property."<sup>2</sup>

The sentence, as it stands, seems rather an understatement if it refers, as seems the intent, exclusively to corporation law. That portion of law does impose a responsibility upon management to operate solely in the interests of the incorporated property holders. But corporation law does not exhaust the sources of legal responsibility, and it is worthwhile exploring somewhat further the present status of management's responsibility before the law for the livelihood of its employees.<sup>3</sup>

### Corporation Law

Corporation law, as interpreted by the courts, has not achieved any precision in naming the relationship of management to the corporation and to the stockholders as individuals. There is recognition of *some sort* of agency

to the corporation as principal and some sort of fiduciary relationship with stockholders as individuals. It remains true, however, that "this trust theory applied to directors of a corporation is more a popular term than a legal one, since directors are certainly not trustees in the strict sense of holding a legal title to property in which others hold the equitable interest. No doubt they are fiduciaries of some kind, but if so, their obligations are strangely different from those of agents to particular persons . . . from common law. . . ."<sup>4</sup> All other relationships of management, including those with employees, are purely contractual. The sole direct beneficiary is the corporation; the individual stockholders are indirectly beneficiaries.

### Statutory Law

Both federal and state statutes, however, and the courts—impelled partly by the initiative of legislatures, partly by their own growing sense of the inadequacy of "free contract" and the exaggerated inviolability of "due process"—have made impressive inroads upon immunity from responsibility for employees' livelihood. The legal approach has not been by way of legislating in favor of a particular class interest, for such legislation would have faced unfavorable action by the courts as a result of their acceptance of "interest legislation as an encroachment without due process upon the prerogatives of ownership." Instead the approach has been by way of declaring "public policy," "public interest," and establishing that no harm

<sup>2</sup> A reading of such studies as Berle and Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, or R. A. Gordon's *Business Leadership in the Large Corporation* suggests that legal responsibility to stockholders, by and large, does not weigh as heavily upon management as *Fortune* suggests. Gordon says, "The great majority of stockholders have been deprived of control of their property through the diffusion of ownership and the growth in the power of management" (p. 350). Alexander H. Frey says, "One senses that corporate managers have come to regard themselves as it (the corporation)." See his "Noteworthy Decisions in the Law of Private Corporation" 94 *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*.

<sup>3</sup> Moral responsibility is not discussed here, but it will be obvious from what follows that the law is built upon moral responsibility which corporation law has not yet seen fit to recognize.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Frey approaches this problem by giving a name to the relationship somewhat differently. "In former times the prevalent conception was that the shareholders were the owners of the business and that the directors and executive officers were their representatives acting on their behalf, not exactly as 'agents' but in much the same manner that members of a legislature act for and represent the best interests of the constituents" (in above quoted article).

as thereby done to business. A sample of the following from the government's brief in *Friedman-Marks v. NLRB*, 1936: "In the period from 1910 to the present time the industry has been characterized by the gradual acceptance of the procedure of collective bargaining. . . . As a result the burdens upon commerce . . . have been eliminated in that area."

The careful study by Julius Cohen<sup>5</sup> of briefs and decisions in attempts to establish minimum-wage laws for women shows that the argument was never based primarily upon rights or interests of women themselves, but upon the public welfare at stake. Thus, in response to the Brandeis' brief (*Muller v. Oregon*, 1908), the Court said: "As healthy mothers are essential to vigorous offspring, the physical well-being of women becomes an object of public interest and care. . . ." To protect the case against the imputation of deprivation of property without due process, Cohen further shows, lengthy arguments were added to prove that such laws, e.g., in European countries, had not resulted in loss to business, but rather in benefit.<sup>6</sup>

### Oppose Social Progress

Opposition to the courts in this type of action persistently decried the "cre-

ation of interest rights" in violation of constitutional protection of property. "So we come back to the first principle that freedom of contract, that *sine qua non* of property rights, will be frittered away, unless the courts enforce the constitutional rule<sup>7</sup> that any restriction of an adult citizen's right to contract must be necessary to his or her health — reasonably necessary, not merely beneficial" (in *Miller v. Wilson*, 1914, quoted by Cohen). Pleaders against workingmen's compensation laws pleaded that they had as their effect "to take the master's property for the benefit of the servant" (Cohen).

Incidentally, it was the unfortunate need to stress an indeterminate public interest against the particular interest of property which obscured the fact that the courts were *finding*, not creating, rights.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, by the series of legislative acts which we shall proceed to study, sovereignty, set down in the law of corporations as absolute, has been chal-

<sup>7</sup> Cushman, in the above pamphlet (p. 6), describes aptly how this "constitutional rule" was formed. He says: "Freedom of contract, legal equality, the sanctity of private property . . . were first read into the vague phrases of the Fourteenth Amendment and then applied to strike down protective labor legislation. . . ."

<sup>5</sup> Julius Cohen, "The Labor Welfare Cases: A Sociological Approach," *10 University of Chicago Law Review* (1942). Much of the next two paragraphs of this article is drawn from this extremely interesting study. Despite a 1,000-page brief setting forth the desirability of such action, Justice Sutherland, in the 1923 decision in the District of Columbia case, could say: "These [the extensive opinions] are all proper enough for the consideration of the lawmaking bodies, since their tendency is to establish the desirability or undesirability of the legislation: but they reflect no legitimate light upon the question of its validity, and that is what we are called upon to decide" (quoted in R. E. Cushman, "What's Happening to Our Constitution," *Public Affairs Pamphlet*, No. 70 [1942] p. 5).

<sup>8</sup> If the writer correctly reads court decisions, the tendency has been more and more to ignore the purely legalistic balancing of public interest versus property interest and to accept as arguable, on its own merit, the balancing private group interests involved. Thus Reed, in the Jones-McLaughlin decision which validated the NLRB, says: "we leave to the employer all the natural rights which he needs to regulate and operate his business. . . . [but] the workman has been found to have rights, — rights of organization to protect himself against the overwhelming material force of the employer. To ask the employer to give up but a trifle of the power which he has, . . . is, in our view, not a deprivation of any liberty or property which is beyond a reasonable interpretation of due process."

lenged. The corporation can no longer be said to be holding labor at arm's length in purely contractual relationship. As Justice Cardozo put it in his interpretation of Justice Brandeis' "innovating social brief": "The emphasis is shifted to community interests, the affirmative enhancement of the human values of the *whole community*—not merely Society, conceived of as individuals dealing with one another at arms length, in which legislation may only seek to protect individuals under disabilities or prevent aggression in the interests of countervailing individual freedom."<sup>9</sup> Law has effectually put labor *some* place within the corporation, has made management some sort of limited respondent for the livelihood of its work force.<sup>10</sup>

## II

### Specific Responsibilities

Concerning legal recognition of a worker's *right to a job*, the following<sup>11</sup> seems to be about all that can be said. The courts have interpreted the right to work as inalienable, as an extension of the very right to life. It has been called a property right (Goldfield Consolidated Mines v. Goldfield Miners Union, Nevada, 1908). In the opinion of Henry R. Bernhard, "It is now universally admitted that the right to work

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in Julius Cohen above.

<sup>10</sup> We have become increasingly aware of legislation to secure the interests of security holders where management has set either its own interests or those of the enterprise against those of security holders. While the word "fiduciary," as understood in a trusteeship, does not describe this responsibility of management to the security holders, still the courts find it hard to give another name. May we not see some sort of similar quasi fiduciary relationship being affirmed toward the work force?

<sup>11</sup> This section on "right to a job" is, in substance, a summary of Henry R. Bernhard, "The Right to a Job," 30 *Cornell Law Quarterly*, 1944-45.

constitutes a property right, the continued interference with which equity will enjoin..."<sup>12</sup> To the protection of this right the courts have not brought any consistent action. Some jurisdictions, for instance, have upheld black lists; some have declared them unconstitutional.

Under the Wagner Act, it is an unfair labor practice for an employer to discharge an employee for union activity. But this does not mean that he must hire unionists. Similarly, courts have affirmed the right of an individual not to be discriminated against in employment by reason of his race or religion. Accordingly, the test of color or religion may not be made the basis of selection of applicants. On the other hand, there is no compulsion to employ, e.g., Negroes.

### Right Needs Strengthening

Bernhard draws two conclusions: "...legal protection of the right to work seems deficient"; 2. "it is established that an unfair labor practice on the part of an employer makes his ordinary right to select his employees 'vulnerable'; his freedom to hire is modified, and the relationship between him and the person he discriminates against is no longer based on *pure private law*" (Italics inserted). Finally it may be noted that the law has nothing to say about the right to a job in the sense of a right to this specific job in this specific enterprise (except the cases discussed above under unfair labor practices and discrimination).

<sup>12</sup> It is doubtful that property right has a proper analogous relationship to physical property and its various instruments of extension. What the courts were doing here was simply to recognize that workers have a right to use injunctive relief against certain arbitrary action inimical to the right to work. Since the injunction can proceed only by way of property protection, the exigency was met by declaration of property right.



ire). Brandeis (in *Senn v. Tile Layers' Protective Union*, 1937) held that a hoped-for job [Senn's] is not property guaranteed by the Constitution, and the diversion of it to a competitor is not an invasion of a constitutional right."

At this point, some mention should be made of the recent decision of the Supreme Court in cases involving the closed shop. The substance of Frankfurter's opinion, written for a unanimous bench in two of the three cases tested, is that the states have the right to experiment with legislation for the control of industrial relations within their jurisdictions. While these measures are aimed ultimately at restrictions upon hire placed by unions, their direct effect is to protect workers from any kind of discrimination by reason of membership or non-membership in trade unions. On the other hand, a contrary decision striking down state enactments against closed shops could also be construed as a court protection of the worker in his job. Inasmuch as it would have strengthened the position of unions in their defense of jobs and incomes.

Professor Wilbert E. Moore<sup>13</sup> makes the point that "the unmistakable trend in the law of property is toward a wider recognition of rights in 'intangibles'..." He proceeds to say that "It is quite in keeping with these tend-

encies to maintain that the NLRA and similar legislation reducing the authority of the employer to discharge at will grants to employees at least a partial 'property interest' in the job." In the same passage he refers to an article written by himself on the new concepts of property and quotes as follows: "...The legal recognition of collective bargaining as a 'right,' with workers maintaining their employee status during strikes or other labor disputes, and with enforceable claims on employment if illegally discharged, with back pay for the period of illegal withholding of employment—all this amounts to property, however unwilling the courts may be to offend traditional sentiment by the use of the term."<sup>14</sup>

### Other Regulations

Although legal recognition of right to work has imposed only negative obligations upon those hiring (chiefly in the form of anti-discrimination measures), the law has found indirect ways to implement this right positively. This has come by way of determining terms and conditions of employment.

The first step was to force the employer to assume responsibility for the life and health of an employee while working on an employer's premises. The courts, impelled again by legislative action, swept away all the dodges of common-law admittance of master-servant relationship, fellow-servant responsibility, and immunity where no guilt.

Prior to 1900, the rule of employer liability was based largely upon the common-law principle of wilful and malicious (tortious) injury. With the introduction of workmen's compensa-

<sup>13</sup> Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrial Relations and the Social Order*, Milwaukee, 1946, p. 394. Moore cites several references which have not been explored in this article: John R. Commons, *Legal Foundations of Capitalism*, Ch. VIII; Elizabeth Pascal, "The Worker's Equity in His Job," *American Federationist*, 40 (1933) 1296-1303, 41 (1934) 68-75, 1212-1221, 1332-1342, 42 (1935) 44-52, 149-154, 275-277, 748-753; G. T. Schwenning, "The Worker's Legal Right to His Job," *American Federationist*, 39 (1932) 26-32; James P. Rowland, *The Legal Protection of the Worker's Job*, Philadelphia, 1937.

<sup>14</sup> Wilbert E. Moore, "The Emergence of New Property Conceptions in America," *Journal of Legal and Political Sociology*, 1 (1943) 55.

tion laws, new sources of employer responsibility were discovered or introduced by statute. In 1912, the Supreme Court of Wisconsin said of these new laws:

This extreme and rather harsh rule [the old rule of employer liability] is characterized by a penal element, grounded on the moral turpitude of the wrongful act. Under the statutory system for dealing with personal injury losses incident to performance of the duties of an employer, they are regarded as mutual misfortunes to be charged up, as directly as practicable, to the cost of production. The right to have the employer regarded as an agency to make payment to the employe and absorb the same as an expense of the industry, regardless of whether the loss is attributable to any human fault, is a legislative creation within the constitutional exercise of the police power to legislate for the public welfare.<sup>15</sup>

### Livelihood Protected

In the course of legal evolution, ordinary risks at common law gave way to fixed responsibility of a positive character. This responsibility was implemented by employer contributions in the form of insurance-premium payments to indemnify his workers in case of injury. Other forms of legally-imposed responsibility, such as direct legislation for health and safety, regulation of hours of labor or exclusion of children and women from certain types of work, have been vigorously challenged by management as threats to property rights and freedom of contract. But in recent years courts have been increasingly reluctant to admit this contention and have declared against it.

There has been little question raised about the constitutional right of the state to regulate and specify the "general legal obligation of employers to

provide a safe workplace and safe tools . . ." So far as the worker's freedom of contract is concerned, the state's constitutional right to deprive the worker of work under unsafe or unhealthful conditions has repeatedly been recognized. This has been the case whether the employe's willingness to do so arose from economic pressure or his own ignorance, indifference or even recklessness. This constitutional right of the state extends even to the prohibition of employment imposed on persons especially liable to injury in certain occupations.<sup>16</sup>

### Child Labor

Attempts to prohibit *child labor* have had two objectives: 1. protection of life, health and morals of children; 2. protection of adult jobs from competition of children. Industry objected that such legislation would cripple it and further, that it was not inexpedient for children to be employed. With passage of the Fair Labor Standard Act (FLSA) in 1941, the long legislative battle ended. It may be worth pointing out that the Act imposes responsibility for livelihood, not only of the adult population by disallowing cheap child-labor, but also for the future livelihood of children themselves by safeguarding their growth, health and opportunities for education.

Two objectives have likewise been sought in legislation regulating *hours of labor*: 1. protection of health, in view of the increased liability to accidents resulting from long hours of labor; 2. the spreading of work over more workers.<sup>17</sup> The latter objective, denied the federal legislature under NIRA, was upheld in *Darby v. U.S.* 1941, which declared the constitutionality of the FLSA. In this type of

<sup>15</sup> *City of Wisconsin v. Miller*, 144 N.W. 188, quoted in Bulletin No. 126, *Workmen's Compensation Laws of the United States and Foreign Countries*, U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, p. 82.

<sup>16</sup> See David McCabe and Richard Lester, *Child Labor and Social Organization*, Boston, 1948, pp. 178 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 187.

legislation again appears responsibility for the livelihood of one's own employes.

### Spread of Work

But a new and more general responsibility is also imposed, that, namely, of helping to provide livelihood for a larger number of the nation's employables. The 40-hour maximum work-week (effective in 1940) could not be exceeded without paying a penalty of time-and-a-half. This means that an employer would do better to increase his work force, if output will demand considerable overtime. It may be observed that the time-and-a-half penalty also served the alternative end sought in the minimum-wage proposals, as we shall see shortly.

Attempts of both state and national legislatures to impose responsibility upon business to pay a minimum wage were frustrated by the Court's decision in 1923 that a law in the District of Columbia setting minimum wages for women interfered with free contract. Renewed attempts to enforce similar laws were made throughout the 1930's,<sup>18</sup> but they met court disapproval in 1936. But a successful defence was made in March, 1937, and the FLSA, in 1938, broadened scope of minimum-wage coverage to include men. This law imposes upon industry the responsibility to provide for the living not only of a worker, but of a family, which is to be supported from the wages of one adult worker.<sup>19</sup>

### Subsistence Wage Required

It seems arguable that implicit in the minimum-wage law is the idea that, just as a business will not be permitted

to operate unless it is able to meet its obligations to creditors, so also it is to be denied the right to operate unless it provides a minimum of subsistence for its employes. The theory is that if a business cannot assume responsibility for such a minimum, it would require subsidization and thereby become a burden upon the community, rather than a benefit. And while it is true that the condition of our economy since effective date of the maximum of 40c (1940) has made the law practically inoperative, still, the law and its tremendously important principle remain. In the event that the present Congress raises the wage to a realistic level, the responsibility will come home to those employers to whom it was intended to apply.

In the Supreme Court's decision upholding the FLSA, Justice Stone asserted that Congress could exercise its power to prevent interstate commerce from being used as "an instrument of competition in the distribution of goods produced under substandards of labor."<sup>20</sup> Earlier reversals had not attacked this principle, but had, as in *U.S. v. Schechter*, 1935, (in which NIRA was declared unconstitutional), restricted the scope of interstate commerce, to which alone federal legislation is applicable. The Court held that what went on in Schechter's poultry yard affected interstate commerce only indirectly and was, accordingly, not subject to federal law.<sup>21</sup> Courts have since held that window washing in a building housing an office engaged in interstate commerce is sufficient to give the federal government power to demand minimum standards of labor. No business that affects interstate commerce, either directly or indirectly, will be permitted to victimize labor in the competitive struggle.

<sup>18</sup> The new approach was to seek a "minimum fair wage in which the wage would be fixed only where it was less than both value of the service and less than a living wage." Intention was to avoid the "living standard wage which fell under Court ban," McCabe and Lester, p. 189.

<sup>19</sup> We do not enter into the economic effects of a minimum wage. Our only purpose is to show responsibilities imposed through it.

<sup>20</sup> Robert E. Cushman, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>21</sup> Robert E. Cushman, *op. cit.*, p. 22.



## Must Provide Saving Income

Under the heading of accident insurance, we saw that employers have been made responsible for the physical hazards of industrial life. To this obligation the federal government has added a further obligation. Industry has been made responsible for indirect payment of a *saving wage* to provide for emergencies and old age. Two contributions, in the form of insurance premiums, have been exacted. The first is a payroll tax of three per cent paid by the employer toward a state unemployment-insurance fund. The second is a one per cent tax for old-age insurance. Projected increases and extensions of the latter have been largely postponed since 1939, but were asked for again in the President's recent State of the Union message.

This is not the place to discuss the issues involved in social security. One remark, however, will indicate its implication for the employer's responsibility for the livelihood of his employees. It might be asked why an employer should be required to assist in the maintenance of one who will no longer be contributing anything to his enterprise. The answer seems to be that an enterprise should be required to assume some of the same responsibility for depreciation of workers that it assumes for adequate depreciation of plant and equipment. Just as an enterpriser must depreciate the latter so that capital will remain intact after operations, so must he now see to it that, in some measure, the "capital" involved in a laborer's ability to produce be intact — intact, of course, through compensation.

## New Status for Labor

Of all these legally-imposed responsibilities for workers' livelihood, those introduced under the Wagner Act will probably prove to be the most significant in the long run. Although many provisions of the Act apply only to organized workers, it has established

the express public policy of encouraging all laboring men to embrace the advantages of unionism. The Preamble to the Act reads:

Experience has proved that protection by law of the right of employees to organize and to bargain collectively safeguards commerce . . . and promotes the flow of commerce. . . . It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to eliminate the causes of . . . obstruction to the free flow of commerce . . . by encouraging the practice of collective bargaining (*Italics inserted*).

This is something very much more than mere *enabling* of collective bargaining.<sup>22</sup>

Although the explicit objective of the Act is to assure the free flow of commerce, the means used is the substitution of democratic, collective bargaining for arbitrary, unilateral<sup>23</sup> decisions concerning the livelihood of employes by management.<sup>24</sup> Max Radin<sup>25</sup> sees in this measure a process creating a new *status* for labor. This it undoubtedly is. It is even true to say that collective bargaining has meant the legal entrance of labor into management. Moreover, the trend of court decisions subsequent to passage of the Act reveals that the courts will permit this participation in management to be as wide as Congress (and its administrative boards) sees fit to permit.<sup>26</sup>

Thus, in 1941, in *U.S. v. Hutcheson*

<sup>22</sup> It might be objected that the Congress which wrote the Labor Management Relations Act (Taft-Hartley Act) did not desire such wide encouragement. This is true. But the writer feels justified in ignoring it as an episode outside the trend of the court and federal legislature.

<sup>23</sup> "Of all the interest groups [in corporate enterprise] labor for decades had the greatest stake and the least voice." Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

<sup>24</sup> Harold Bergen, "Management Prerogatives," *Harvard Business Review* 18 (Winter, 1940).

<sup>25</sup> Max Radin, *Manners and Morals of Business*, 1939, p. 243.

<sup>26</sup> Vincent M. Barnett, Jr., "The Supreme Court and the Capacity to Govern," *Politi-*

the Supreme Court interpreted the anti-injunction provision of the Norris-La-Guardia Act to mean that no act could be enjoined if economic self-interest was the intent of the act, provided there was no combination with a group of employers. This interpretation received several subsequent affirmations which further extended the area of legitimate self-interest. In *Allen Bradley v. Local Union, No. 3, 1945*, the Supreme Court allowed, under the *Hutcheson* interpretation, the exclusion of products manufactured outside New York City (even though they were union-made) because the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, demanded the exclusive use of locally-made materials. This represents not only enormous grant of monopoly power, but legal dictation to management of their product market.<sup>27</sup>

*cal Science Quarterly* 63 (September, 1948), and Cushman, *loc. cit.* See also note 19, above. That the "judicial restraint" of the courts has at times been a falling-over-backward is accepted by most students of labor relations. The recent decision of the Supreme Court in support of the right of states to legislate against various forms of union security is further confirmation at this point. The substance of Frankfurter's opinion, written for a unanimous bench in two of the three cases tested, is that the states have the right to experiment with legislation for the control of industrial relations within their jurisdictions. He cites Brandeis copiously to this effect and in support of the position that it is not for the Court to interject its own economic or social prepossessions. This acknowledgment by the present Court of a legislature's right to social experiment leads us to expect that if the 81st Congress repeals Taft-Hartley and its restrictions upon union security and returns to the Wagner Act's support of the right to seek union security, the Supreme Court will be in the anomalous position of upholding the national legislature's law on the same grounds which support the states' right to the diametrically opposite experimentation. The following two cases of the text are examples.

## Toward Guaranteed Employment

Finally, the recent assumption by the federal government of responsibility for guaranteeing full employment will inevitably mean that this responsibility will be shared with management. So far as possible, management's share will be accepted voluntarily, but legal obligation will be imposed if the responsibility is shirked. Just what this means cannot very well be measured in a full-employment economy, but should there be a serious turn-down, there will undoubtedly be some kind of return to a NRA type of voluntary planning by industry for the expansion of employment.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, whatever devices government uses to supplement industry's initiative (change in fiscal policies, for instance) will inevitably result in transference to business of the obligation to supply livelihood which the government has assumed.

The right to a family living for most men in the American economy, as it is today, is made concrete as a right to participate somehow within the web of industrial and commercial life. Since industrial development and the division of labor have made this participation indispensable, it is inevitable that the state must secure the individual's right for him. Implementation of that right by imposing concomitant obligations upon leaders of industry has advanced much farther than the *Fortune* article suggests.

## Summary

The ways in which government has imposed responsibility for livelihood upon ownership may, by way of summary, be regrouped as follows: 1. directly imposed responsibility for protection of the employee's earning capac-

<sup>28</sup> That adequate power to legislate an NRA exists is the opinion of Barnett, *op. cit.*, Cushman, *op. cit.*, and of Edward Corwin, "The Dissolving Structure of Our Constitutional Law," 20 *Washington Law Review*, November, 1945.

<sup>27</sup> See preceding note.

ity; 2. removal of competition from cheap child and woman labor; 3. directly imposed minimum remuneration and the indirectly forced spread of employment; 4. strengthening labor's power to better the terms of employment and pay and to participate in decisions affecting its livelihood; 5. cooperation implicitly demanded with a full-employment policy.

As long as an economic system denies to workers their rightful part in shaping the decisions by which their livelihood is determined and their rightful share in the proceeds of industry, government justly intervenes. The various legislative and judicial actions briefly discussed in this article have been just such interventions calculated to bring in better balance the legal protections of both sides.

Unfortunately, this legislation has

tended to keep the whole issue a matter of sides, rather than of collaboration. So long as this state of affairs continues it will be possible for powerful groups on either side of the bargaining table to make, under the aegis of law, greater demands than are just. What we must now undertake is the development of a functional ordering of economic life in which vocational partners will learn to do voluntarily, through cooperation, what social and economic exigencies demand. Peter Drucker<sup>29</sup> has given us a final word for *Fortune's* article. "We must," he says, "get Management to see the plant as a social institution in which a worker has to be given citizenship."

<sup>29</sup> Peter F. Drucker, "The Way to Industrial Peace," *Harper's Magazine* (November, December, 1946, January, 1947).

### The New Prometheus

Many modern thinkers, themselves fierce opponents of Christianity (we need only mention Marx and Nietzsche), like to compare their work with that of Prometheus, and proudly proclaim themselves the heirs of the rebel hero. Let us not therefore allow our adversary to manoeuvre us into blindly taking up every position contrary to his own, and thus leave him all the benefit of any just ideas he mingles with his revolt. The fable of Prometheus is not a biblical story: a revolt against the gods is not *ipso facto* a revolt against God. Our God is indeed a jealous God, but His jealousy is something far other than that of the gods of the fable. He does not grudge His creatures fire or any other of their discoveries and inventions. On the contrary, it is precisely through these that His dominion is extended and new plans are realized in conformity to His will. Time is given to man that he may perfect himself in the temporal order: man has every right to wish to escape from all forms of cosmic and social slavery with a view to a freer, more human existence. We must not confuse Christianity with initiatives which belong to a purely natural plane nor identify it with this or that form of political regime or social revolution.

Henri de Lubac, S.J.

"The New Man," *Dublin Review*.



# PSYCHOLOGY IN THE PRESENT SOCIAL STRUCTURE

*Opportunity for Catholics*

## Part I

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### Psychology in General

WHEN THE IDEA of this article first presented itself, I thought of a paper on Social Psychology — what precisely it is and does. For when two such extensive words as “social” and “psychology” are joined, it is often difficult to get a clear picture of what is intended without some special study of the subject.

However, on further thought I felt that to explain just the working and scope of Social Psychology would give a very inadequate picture of the work and need of psychology and the psychologist in our present social scene. Therefore, it seemed better to divide the paper into two parts: the first, an attempt to give an over-all view of the influence and vitality, of the strength and weakness of modern psychology in *all* its aspects of social import; and the second, an extensive exposé of the work of Social Psychology in particular.

There is probably little need in a publication such as this to spend much time in pointing out logical and natural connections existing in the very concepts themselves, “psychology” and “social” (in the concrete, the science of the “social”—sociology). Psychology is the study of life, and, specifi-

cally, human life, under one of its most basic aspects, an aspect that is intimately associated with all the other aspects. Sociology could be said to be a study of society; and since all social life is also psychic, it is evident that there will be much overlapping and interplay, interdependence and a need for team work between the two disciplines. As a matter of fact, in universities today psychologists are trained in sociological principles, and sociologists are being more and more instructed in psychological truths, techniques, and methods.

It is only since the first world war that psychology has come down from its aloof pedestal of class-room theory and laboratory experiment to enter into practical applications in everyday life. Of course, long before this, it was turning over the fruit of its thought, research, and experiment to the other cultural sciences, to education, sociology, anthropology, ethnology. Indeed, much of the psychologist's main work is to remain in just such a capacity.

### Psychology Now Practical

However, by means of testing programs, control procedures, statistical analysis, prognostic techniques, animal experimentation, personality study, the

psychologist has emerged from his shell and is now busily engaged on a very practical and useful level in the battle of life. As a result, he is doing much to advance both his own science and the work of all the cultural sciences. In no one of these has psychology done more than in the social field. In fact, it has even moved into the iron-curtained domain of the exact sciences, the practical sciences, and industry to show them how best to function, to experiment, to use men, to fashion equipment.

Psychology as a practical science, if I may so label it, has mushroomed in recent decades, and it is here to stay. At times it has burst at the seams and suffered acute growing pains, e.g., behaviorism, and has lost its balance in a few serious falls when its theory failed to keep the pace, e.g., sensism, positivism, psychology without a soul. At times it has built upon sand, and is still building upon it in some instances. Theoretical, or philosophical, psychology was much too sluggish to keep up to modern problems, and the upheavals within philosophy itself kept it in a state of unbalance.

### Materialist Trend

Experimental psychology, which started in Wundt's laboratory almost as a sworn enemy to philosophical psychology, wasted too many of the early years of its life in experimentation on the level of sensation—afraid to reach into the unmeasurable higher level of intellect and soul. So, modern psychology bounded on without a sound basis and, consonant with the spirit of the age thoroughly materialistic, too eagerly tried every hypothesis with just two norms to guide it: "Can it be measured?"—utter positivism! And "Does it work?"—utter pragmatism!

Today, however, because of a basic amount of humility and honesty on the part of many psychologists, and thanks

to good scientific methods and procedure plus sound statistical techniques, psychology is slowly drawing itself back upon solid ground, but very slowly! For example, we now have important psychologists coming close to the concept of "faculty," even though they still refuse to use the term. They prefer the word "factor."

Moreover, it is quite interesting to find out that statistical studies have forced psychologists at Yale to admit a control factor in emotions, which is very much what we mean by "will." Until recently, they were willing to admit only one factor, the urge or drive of emotions, sheer behaviorism. As far as I know, they have not labeled this "new" factor, but when they do feel quite sure they will not call it "will."

Just a few years ago an idea was simply a neuron pattern, or an electrochemical change, but now (mainly due to the influence of Freud!) they are calling it a psychic reality.<sup>1</sup> This is at least getting closer to the true spiritual nature of an idea.

### Lacks Philosophical Basis

Even yet psychology is in the dark because it has no light to guide it except the unsteady, unreal beacon of pragmatism. It lacks a sound unified philosophy. In this country alone, there are seven major schools of psychology which are at logger-heads with one another on many vital issues.<sup>2</sup> Yet out of this some truth doth come, as we shall see in the rest of this article. I mention this point merely to show that psychology as it is today has, in addition to its many successes, many weaknesses. These successes and weaknesses

<sup>1</sup> James M. Dorsey, M.D., "Some Considerations on Psychic Reality," *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 2 (1943).

<sup>2</sup> Edna Heidbreder, *Seven Psychologies*, New York, 1933.

are going to show up quite clearly when psychology is applied to the social field. And psychologists themselves are aware of it.

I had the opportunity this year to attend many of the sessions of the American Psychological Association convention in Boston. I was impressed by the scholarship, devotion to procedure, ambition and hard work in experiment, and sincerity. These men are intellectually humble and earnestly seeking truth. They are not consciously closing their minds to our message or deliberately denying on principle all that we say.

For the most part, they have just never had an opportunity to examine the truth of our system. Or, if it has been presented to them, it may have been in such a dogmatic manner, couched in such technical language, that they could not understand the message and, therefore, suspected the dogmatizations as unscientific and the technical words as meaningless.

For the most part, also, they have never received sufficient motivation to urge them to look more deeply into "our" philosophical system and doctrine. I heard these men, who are admittedly the important psychologists in our country today, openly inviting criticism, suggestion, advice, and guidance in their work and study and search for truth. Sincerely, too, I think.

### Some Prejudiced

On the other hand, I do not mean to imply that there is no prejudice against us and our philosophy. I merely wish to state that on the whole it is not conscious or bigoted, but rather the result of the education and total cultural milieu of which, in many cases, they are the victims. So the burden rests more heavily on us. To be aware of the dogmatism that so often characterizes teachers and the self-satisfaction of their students (we have the truth!), their humility and openness for truth was quite startling

and stimulating, their need of help sad-denying. I feel that many of the leaders of American psychology, as it lives today, are trying mightily to think and to think straightly. They have no true guide as yet!

How can we get them to accept scholastic philosophy? As I see it, there is only one way—pass the requisite they set down: "Does it work?" That is our job. If and when we do this, we shall have given a mighty impetus to the Church's social apostolate; we shall have made the position of the psychologist in the entire social scene of much greater value.

### Catholic Psychologists Needed

Facing the fact—we have the truth. Facing the fact—are we doing enough about it? When we look about us, who are the leading psychologists, psychiatrists, and psychoanalysts in our country today? We don't speak the same language with these men, nor they with us. And this is in a very vital field of activity, the science of human life. Catholic colleges are at least ten years behind in the field of modern psychology. The up-surge of present-day psychology has left us in its wake.

For example, the United States Government, through the Veterans' Administration, is sponsoring a gigantic 15-year training program to turn out 10,000 clinical psychologists, at the cost of \$3,000,000 a year! The Army and Navy likewise have an imposing program.<sup>3</sup> Yet there is only *one* Catholic college in this country which is capable of offering an acceptable program for the training of clinical psychologists.<sup>4</sup> That is Catholic University. And for this one we can thank the wisdom and labor of *one* great priest, Thomas Verner Moore.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *The American Psychologist*, 3, (1948) 503-506.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *The American Psychologist*, 2, (1947) 203.



This means that the future clinical psychologists of this country will be trained according to materialistic, behavioristic, and Freudian principles. These men in turn are to handle the psychological problems of the future United States. One might wonder if we have overlooked an opportunity.

### Value in Psychoanalysis

Another important example—I had been taught that Psychoanalysis was so absurd that it was dying the speedy death of all melodramatic frauds. In fact, I had been taught that it was dead. Much to my amazement I found that, on the contrary, it is the most alive thing in modern psychology and psychiatry. Not only is it not totally absurd but it has, clinically speaking at least, much to offer, if properly understood and applied. And it does work!

Moreover, if one can trust statistics, 95 per cent of the psychiatrists in the country today who practice therapy are psychoanalytically trained (though not necessarily psychoanalysts), and the proportion is pretty much the same for the training of clinical psychologists. In fact, until the current rise of non-directive therapy,<sup>5</sup> psychoanalytic techniques were almost the only tools known to therapists other than, of course, basic human kindness, common sense and insight.

It is difficult not to wonder about the intelligence and objectivity of the man who still holds that Freud was not much more than some sort of manic, psychosexual fool. It is true that much of his early work, which in many instances he himself later modified or rejected, and which today by most modern psychoanalysts is modified a great deal more, contains doctrine that is false and now of only historical value for the impetus that

it gave to the science. However, this does not immediately give one the right to pass over his contribution and their usefulness (however limited one feels they may be).

### Many Contributions

For example: his de-emphasis of hypnotism and discovery of free-association, his acceptance of psychic reality which had been pretty much banished by the strongly materialistic philosophy of the time, his proofs of the dynamic force of the unconscious, his clinical techniques and concepts—such as: transference, sublimation, compensation.

Psychoanalysis is the brain-child of Freud.<sup>6</sup> It is here to stay. Our only practical approach is to adjust to it—oppose it when necessary but aid and use it to produce good when possible and proper. Otherwise it will go on along its sometime destructive course without us. Now I wish it to be very clear that I am not writing a brief for Psychoanalysis. I am merely trying to point out that it has come a long way since Freud first mentioned the Oedipus complex. It could use our help in going further; for go further it will. Its techniques are in constant use today in clinics; they are working. And we will get nowhere by just denying this fact or by calling Freud, who started it all, some kind of libidinous pervert.

Psychoanalysis is not a philosophy itself; it is not even a science in any sense of the word. It is at most a technique. Like all modern psychology, it needs a philosophy to guide it. In practice, there is only one answer for us—psychology departments in all our colleges, good ones, up-to-date, and practical, turning out Catholic leaders versed in *modern* psychology based

<sup>5</sup> Carl R. Rogers, *Counseling and Psychotherapy*, New York, 1942, p. 115 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Sigmund Freud, "The History of the Psychoanalytic Movement." Trans. A. A. Brill in *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*, New York, 1938, p. 933.

upon our true philosophy.

### Catholic Psychologists Organize

Mention should be made here of the first really significant move on the part of Catholics to make their presence felt in the psychological field of the present, the formation of the American Catholic Psychological Association. This new society has received considerable attention of late in the Catholic press. George J. McKeon, S.J., has written a detailed account of it in the October issue of *The Modern Humanist*.<sup>7</sup> This association is the answer of the Catholic clergy and laity to a long existing and dire need in our social structure, the need of Catholic influence in the field of modern psychology. The ACPA has enjoyed a very auspicious beginning and holds out a promising future.

Richard P. Burke, S.J., in his recent thesis on marriage and the family, quite specifically and clearly substantiates the point I have been making, namely, that the strength and weakness of modern psychology, and the present vitality and influence of psychoanalysis are keenly felt, not only in sociological thought, but also in the entire social order. For psychology influences the social principles of the world and in part determines the viewpoint, methods and solutions of modern sociologists. He says:

Yet another possible change in thought on the family, which is not clearly indicated in the sociologists' analyses of trends, but which is suggested by the contents of their articles, concerns the psychological presuppositions implicit in their studies of family interaction. It is no longer from the viewpoint of the older rational psychology that the psychological aspects of family life are studied; such an approach would be considered philosophical. Rather the approach is from the discoveries of experimental psychology

and, even more significant of change in fundamental thought, from the Freudian point of view. In this case it is more certain that the influence is from modern psychology and the Freudians towards a changing sociological concept of the family; the sociological study of the family in any or all of its aspects would not lead to Freudian concept of man, while the Freudian concepts with which many modern sociologists of the family are imbued do lead to peculiar interpretations of family life.<sup>8</sup>

Mr. Burke, in his survey of the literature of the leading sociological journals of the last 20 years, shows that Freudian and psychoanalytic concepts, due to the dependence of sociology upon psychology, have thoroughly infiltrated the field of sociology and on many points of serious importance give us cause for alarm.<sup>9</sup> Later on in his thesis, Mr. Burke points out the influence of the psychoanalytic school on marriage as he has observed it from the journals.<sup>10</sup> And in still another section, he directly attributes the lack of religion as a factor in the American family to modern psychology.<sup>11</sup>

### Social Contribution

So much for the theoretical side. In the concrete, what is the living, practical contribution of psychologists to our modern social structure? This field is so vast that I can only hint at the complete answer. Apart from long hours in the classroom and laboratory, the psychologists are doing a major portion of social-research work, especially the socially significant research work on personality, motivation, unconscious attitudes, adolescence, intellectual ability and precocity, juve-

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<sup>8</sup> Richard P. Burke, S.J., *The Trend in Modern American Sociological Thought on Marriage and the Family as Evidenced in Representative Learned Journals, 1918-1947* [M. A. Thesis]. St. Louis University, 1948, p. 51.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>7</sup> George J. McKeon, S.J., "The Catholic Psychological Association," *The Modern Humanist*, 5 (October, 1948), 24 (private publication).

nile delinquency, mental hygiene, race prejudice, international characteristics and tensions.

They are writing many of the articles in the scientific social periodicals. In clinics all over the country, psychologists and social workers rarely, if ever, work alone, but rather as a team, especially with problems characteristic of children, the home, marriage, the family, delinquency and education. When there is need, the psychiatrist is also brought in—again to work with the team. Today the approved clinics function almost completely on this team basis. After the data have been amassed, the case solved and adjustment brought about by the team, the work of the psychologist begins again, as it were, for it is his job also to analyze the data for experimental and research purposes. Indeed, this is perhaps his greatest contribution.

### Experimentation

Possibly a homely example of the practical nature of the psychologist's research work will clarify the point. Recall a recent moving picture—*Crossfire*. The theme was racial and religious prejudice. Two psychologists from New York University made a research study on its sociological effects, that is, its influence in changing socially unacceptable attitudes of prejudice.

The study was conducted in two parts. First, a high school population in an Ohio city filled out a questionnaire before and after seeing the picture. The questionnaire was supplemented by interview data. The results indicated a change in attitude in the favorable direction which was slight, but statistically significant. Secondly, adult reactions were measured from a different questionnaire filled out in the lobby of theatres in Boston and Denver, or taken and returned by mail. The results did not show any basic change in adult attitudes but did indicate an initiation of a very important

learning process in this line of social thought.<sup>12</sup>

The role of psychology in other specific social fields is becoming increasingly significant. The field of medicine, which only in the past two decades has fully recognized the validity of psychiatry, is starting to look with a more benevolent eye upon psychology. The striking and undeniable success of clinical psychologists during the past world war had much to do with this about-face of medical men.<sup>13</sup>

In anthropology also there is an encouraging trend toward a more unbiased exchange of knowledge and closer cooperation and harmony.<sup>14</sup>

The vast fields of Applied Psychology all have their own specific social import, which I feel is quite evident and well known by all, especially the work of applied psychologists in industry, advertising, education, criminology, etc. Each one of these is worthy of special treatment, but this would take us too far afield in a general paper such as this.

Part I of this article has intended to give an over-all view of modern psychology, its influence, vitality, weakness and strength inasmuch as each of these aspects had social value and meaning. In Part II a discussion of the field of Social Psychology will be attempted with the obvious illation that Jesuits should be in on this field of thought, and that it should have a fitting place in our curriculum in the Society and in our colleges and universities.

<sup>12</sup> Louis E. Rath and Frank N. Trager, "Public Opinion and Crossfire," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 21 (1948), 345-368.

<sup>13</sup> Alan Gregg, M.D., "The Profession of Psychology as Seen by a Doctor of Medicine," *The American Psychologist*, 3 (1948), 397 sq.

<sup>14</sup> Clyde Kluckhohn, "An Anthropologist Looks at Psychology," *The American Psychologist*, 3 (1948), 429 sq.



# HAWAII

## *The Forty-Ninth in Forty-Nine*

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IT WILL BE EASY for the modern successors of Betsy Ross to arrange the 49 stars seven by seven on the blue field of the flag if Hawaii is admitted to the Union this year. A number of other matters connected with admission are more complicated and are worthy of attention as the big moment for Hawaii approaches. The introduction of a bill in Congress to grant statehood to the Territory is not unusual. That has been happening at frequent intervals since 1903, only five years after the Islands were annexed by the United States, but it appears now that efforts to get final action by Congress may be successful.

The House Territories Committee, after long hearings in Hawaii in 1935, recommended that Congress name a committee to make an investigation to determine whether the Territory was ready for statehood. No one was surprised when, in its report in 1938, it stated that "Hawaii has fulfilled every requirement for statehood heretofore exacted of the territories." But it went on to say that before the Congress acted on their recommendation, it should satisfy itself that a majority of the people of the Territory wanted it to become a state.

The results of the plebiscite that followed showed that 46,174 favored and 22,428 opposed statehood; this was in November of 1940. In 1945,

the Legislature of the Territory renewed its petition for immediate admission, and further hearings, more detailed and exhaustive, were held by the subcommittee of the House Territories Committee in 1946. The subcommittee recommended immediate consideration of legislation to implement the will of the people of Hawaii as expressed in the 1940 plebiscite.

### **Administration Favors Action**

The desire of Hawaii for membership in the family of states has the endorsement of the President of the United States, who in January, 1946, urged Congress to admit Hawaii to statehood promptly. The Secretary of the Interior, under whose department the responsibility for the Territory of Hawaii falls, also favors prompt action.

The Farrington Bill, (H.R. 49), will apparently be the instrument by which the people of Hawaii will be empowered to form a constitution, a state government and be admitted to the Union on an equal basis with other states. This bill was passed by the House of Representatives in June, 1947, and it was thought that the Senate would act on it during the sessions of the eightieth Congress. Because of the pressure of other business, it failed to come before the Senate then but will almost surely be presented and passed by the Senate of the eighty-first Congress.

## The Islands

In view of the imminent admission of Hawaii into the American family of states, it might be well to review a few of the facts about her and consider some of the benefits and the problems she brings with her. About 2,400 miles west of San Francisco lies the port of Honolulu at the crossroads of the Pacific. It is the chief harbor of the Hawaiian Islands. The total area of the archipelago comprises only 6,400 square miles, its population in 1946 was 519,503—not a great many, but 80 people per square mile and almost double what it was in 1930.

The islands of the group sprawl over nearly 2,000 miles of the North Pacific, and in the main consist of Hawaii, Maui, Kahoolawe, Lanai, Molo-kai, Oahu, Kauai and Niihau. Hawaii, the largest of the group, is at the southeastern end of the archipelago and is almost twice as large as the rest of the islands put together. Its principal city, Hilo, is about 200 miles from Honolulu and has 28,308 inhabitants.

Oahu is the third island in size and the first in population and importance. It has the capital city, Honolulu. Oahu extends 40 miles at its longest, and 26 miles at its widest point. The north-eastern coast is paralleled by the Koolau mountain range which reaches an elevation of some 3,100 feet, while the southern part is a broad coastal plain at whose eastern end rises the city of Honolulu. The famous Waikiki is on this southern shore between the city and Diamond Head, while to the west of the city lies Pearl Harbor.

## The People

In 1946, Honolulu was the home of 267,710 people, more than half the total population of the islands. This unbalanced distribution of population is the expression of rapid process of urbanization and is a partial explanation of the disturbed employment situ-

ation that obtained during 1947 when the plantations were suffering from a labor shortage and unemployment was a problem in Honolulu. Many observers are of the opinion that the urbanization process can be reversed only by the breaking up of the large plantations.

The enthusiastic advertisement of tourist attractions in Hawaii has made the world familiar with climatic conditions. In general, the islands have the mild, sub-tropical climate, controlled largely by ocean currents and trade winds which give them at sea level early summer weather conditions perpetually. Variation can be enjoyed by excursions into the nearby mountains.

Politically, the Hawaiian Islands are not a possession, not a colony, nor a dependency, but an integral part of the United States. Acquired by the United States in 1898, Hawaii has, from the beginning, enjoyed a considerable degree of self-government and the advantages of the United States Constitution, excepting, of course, those provisions which apply only to states. By the Hawaiian Organic Act of 1900, all inhabitants who had been citizens of the Hawaiian Republic in 1898 became citizens of the United States.

## Under Federal Authority

But the political status of Hawaii as a Territory is considerably different from that of a state. The Federal government, for example, appoints and pays the key administrative officers and judges. The Governor of the Territory is appointed by the President of the United States and so are the secretary of Hawaii and certain other high officers. The Governor reports annually to the Secretary of the Interior.

The organization of government follows the traditional three-branch form with the Executive, made up of the Governor and the secretary of Hawaii; the Legislative, composed of the Senate

and the House of Representatives; and the Judicial branch. There is a Supreme Court with a Chief Justice and two Associate Justices, and a system of circuit courts, four in number, whose judges, together with those of the Supreme Court, are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate.

### Industrial and Racial Problems

The general framework of government organization, therefore, varies little from that of the United States itself. But two features of the economic and social life of the Territory are distinctive and of particular interest as statehood approaches.

The first of these is the labor-management situation, and the second is the condition of race relations.

An acquaintance with the Hawaiian economy as a whole is helpful in understanding the labor problem. The territory is dependent upon the United States for nearly every item included in its high standard of living. Sixty per cent of its food alone comes from the mainland. The commodities which it trades for these items are chiefly three: sugar, pineapple and tourist attractions and services. There are other industries, of course, but nearly all of them depend on, or are subsidiary to, the three major enterprises. Since the so-called "Big Five" dominate these three, they exercise considerable control over the entire Island's economic life.

In 1947, Hawaii produced 872,187 tons of sugar valued at \$108,179,992.71. To do this she devoted 208,376 of the total of 284,917 acres of land arable for cultivated crops. Clearly, sugar production absorbs a large share of agricultural potential; it is the chief item of the economy.

### Highly Vulnerable Industry

Yet, this tremendous industry has been increasingly dependent on the American market and on the various stabilizing and protective policies of

the United States government. The International Sugar Agreement and the American quota system were re-established in 1947, and there is no prospect of these fundamental aids being withdrawn. It might be pointed out in passing, however, that while many industries in the United States proper are similarly dependent upon the maintenance of protection by the government, it is quite a different matter for the basic industry of a relatively small economy to rest on so artificial a foundation. In competition with low-wage sugar-producing areas, the Hawaiian sugar industry which is the basic element of the whole Hawaiian economy, would be wiped out.

For our present purpose, however, it is sufficient to know that the sugar industry is in a prosperous condition. The Territory produces one-fifth of the world's sugar, and with it supplies one-sixth of the annual requirement of the United States. Since the war, certain operations on marginal lands have been discontinued: a constant and increasing mechanization of production continues and is having an adverse effect on the labor market. Mechanization and the increased labor costs since the organization of labor have led to further abandonment of less fertile areas and has given impetus to the tendency toward the merging of plantations into great mass-production units.

### Pineapple Industry Fluctuates

Much more independent of tariff protection is the pineapple industry, which competes successfully in the world market. Hawaiian pineapple represents 90 per cent of the total world production. The war removed such areas as Formosa and the Philippines from competition, but new developments are being made in Mexico, Cuba and other regions. Unlike the sugar industry, the production of pineapple, much more a luxury item, is very sensitive to depression, to the



over-production of other canned fruits and in its culture is considerably more subject to drought, plant diseases and insect pests than sugar. Compared with the 208,000 acres used for the cultivation of sugar cane, 62,000 acres were used in 1947 to produce a pineapple crop worth \$60,000,000.

The two economic giants, sugar and pineapple, support a number of service industries. There is also a thriving truck-garden enterprise, but it is restricted necessarily to the domestic market. The fishing business and the canning of fish offers fair prospect for further development, but tourism, of all the minor sources of income, offers the largest and most important field for development. Evaluation of the economic future must take into consideration two other very important factors: the rapid increase of population and the decline of employment. Plans must be made for the expansion of occupational opportunities by groups within and outside the government.

### Labor Problems

Two issues in the employment situation stand out currently and in the recent past: the Communist threat, which has become a focal point; and the organization of labor. Labor has often been harshly treated and exploited in the past; previous to annexation, the standard of living for workers was at the very low Oriental level. Hence, labor conditions, at least in the matter of wages, hours and living conditions, have improved greatly in the past 50 years. This improvement, the traditional opposition of management and the docility of the Oriental worker, all combined to prevent the growth of unions.

But a desire for reform was noticeable before the war and was intensified during its progress. The military authorities, interested far more in the immediate task at hand than in the welfare of labor, were highly criticized

by the workers, and antagonism began to crystalize. Laboring men imported from the United States to work on air fields, defense construction and roads brought with them the gospel of organized labor and adequate evidence of the contrast between conditions in the Islands and in the United States. Communist agitation also made a considerable contribution to general restlessness.

### Now Widely Organized

After the war, the Territory was ripe for organization. Within two years of the end of the war, Hawaii changed from one of the least to one of the most organized areas of America. Most of the work was done by the International Longshoremen's Union after the war-time restrictions were lifted in 1944. Its efforts reached into every branch of Hawaiian industry and its success led the AFL to begin the organization of unions along craft lines with considerable, but less spectacular, success.

The results of unionization were sharply increased wages and the elimination of the so-called "perquisite system"—an arrangement of benefits by which the plantations provided all housing, medical care, club rooms, recreational facilities and a variety of minor services.

Under the new order, the unmarried man benefited far more than the married man who, though he now has considerably greater cash income, is forced to provide for himself and his family those services which had been given him by the plantations under the perquisite system. Complaints from the family men were loud and long, both against the union and the plantation agreement has been delayed and often prevented by the complexities of adjusting wages in some proportion with size of family, living costs and the presence or absence in whole or in part of the perquisite arrangement.

## Communists Active

Through 1947, the Communists were very active, and the usual division into left- and right-wing segments of the unions resulted. There is still considerable tension in Hawaii over the Communist issue.

It was the sugar strike of 1946 that constituted the basic test of union strength. The strike vote conducted by ILWU showed 15,405 for, and 123 against, a strike. At the outset of the unionization campaign, the need for upward revision of wages, frozen by the military during the war, was so clear that increases were written into practically all contracts when first negotiated.

But by 1946, issues had broadened. Now it was a question of union shop, vacations with pay, holiday pay, sick leave, pension plans and pay for travel time. The strike voted in 1946 ran for 79 days, closed 32 of the 34 plantations and was the most costly in the history of the territory. It resulted in a union victory. The details of the agreement finally reached are numerous and complicated, but, in general, included the increase of wages, the elimination of the perquisite system and improvement in living conditions.

## Wages Rise

In 1947, straight-time average earnings in the sugar industry were 94c for men; in the pineapple industry, 88c for all workers, men and women; in the pineapple canneries the average was 94c, \$1.01 for men, 77c for women. Provision was made for overtime wages to be paid for work over 40, and in some cases 48, hours a week. The machinery for government labor agencies and bureaus is very much the same in Hawaii as it is in the United States proper.

So much for a very brief sketch of the organization of labor in the Territory today. The following table indi-

cates graphically the phenomenal progress of unionization in the past decade.<sup>1</sup>

## Number of NLRB Representation Petitions Resulting in Elections and Union Certifications

	Elections	Union certifications
1938.....	3	1
1939.....	7	6
1940.....	4	4
1941.....	4	4
1942.....	0	0
1943.....	6	6
1944.....	34	34
1945.....	66	61
1946.....	105	95
1947.....	25	18

Since very few employers in the Territory granted union recognition without recourse to an election conducted by the NLRB, the table constitutes a very nearly complete record of union efforts to gain recognition.

## Job Opportunities Decrease

Problems of labor-management relations are in some instances explained, and in others merely complicated, by new factors in the employment situation which are peculiar to the Territory. Some of these have been alluded to earlier. The rapid mechanization of all phases of production and the introduction of many labor saving methods have reduced employment opportunity in both the sugar and the pineapple industries and, consequently, in their dependent businesses. At the same time, there has been an increase in population.

In 1947, labor supply and employment opportunity were nearly balanced; now, with the curtailment of military and naval works and the return of veterans, the balance no longer

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Shoemaker, "Labor Trends in Hawaii," *Monthly Labor Review*, Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, 66 (1948) 488-492, 609-612, also Reprint No. R. 1925.

exists. Strangely enough, while there is considerable unemployment in the city, especially in Honolulu, which contains more than half the population of the territory, it has been increasingly difficult to fill the demand for plantation workers in the surrounding countryside and on other islands.

### Early Improvement Unlikely

Nor is any natural alleviation of the employment problem in sight; the age distribution is such that the numbers of active working persons will increase in the coming years. Unions have necessarily become less vigorous in pressing their demands, partly because of these circumstances and partly because left-wing vs. right-wing cleavages have made it impossible for them to present the united front that made them invincible in 1946 and 1947. Racial and political issues and the ever-present Communist threat contribute to tension. The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor says rather cryptically of the future, "Current prospects for harmony are not good."

At the same time, living costs follow closely the pattern of increase in the United States. In 1947, 112 basic items cost 25 per cent more in Honolulu than they did in Los Angeles. The increase from 1943 to 1947 has been about the same in both places. The Hawaiians, however, enjoy certain advantages such as climate, customs in eating and in dress which allow them to live less expensively than their fellow citizens on the mainland.

### Race Relations

Besides labor-management relations, the other interesting facet of Hawaiian socio-economic life is the matter of relations between the races. The Territory has won much publicity on this score, but the efficacy and enlightenment of race relations as a system in Hawaii can easily be exaggerated. If

it is a system at all, it is largely negative; there are no discriminatory laws, interracial marriage is not forbidden, there is no race restriction on attendance at the University of Hawaii nor at any of the public schools (though some private schools exclude Orientals). The franchise and the right to run for public office are granted to all citizens regardless of race, and both rights are used. Finally, there are no laws in regard to the sale of real estate which operates in a discriminatory manner.

What is striking and distinctive of relations between the races in Hawaii is the fact that the population is made up of many ethnic elements and that they are all living in a fair condition of justice and peace under Anglo-Saxon leadership.

### Some Prejudice

Race discrimination is, however, not completely absent. Beneath the quiet surface of social and economic intercourse there runs a current of suspicion and prejudice. During the 75 years previous to annexation, Caucasian missionaries and business men were inclined both by courtesy and expediency to show a certain deference to the Hawaiian people and their government. Traces of that deference and the respect it engendered endure in Hawaiian race relations today. The churches and schools use their influence to improve race relationships and to bring about genuine, rather than superficial, amity.

But the apparent progress is the result not so much of the enlightenment of the people or the triumph of justice and charity, but the gradual disappearance of racial distinctions. Inter-marriage and assimilation tend to make identifiable groups disappear in a generation or two. Another circumstance is the large number of different racial groups. In addition to the Anglo-Saxons and the few Hawaiians, there



re Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, Filipinos, East Indians, Samoans and others, so many that no one of them is in the majority. Thus, compromises with one another must be made constantly, and no group can afford to give another offense.

### Relations Improve Further

These facts explain in part why there has never been a serious outbreak of racial hatred and why race relations in Hawaii are generally superior to those in the United States. Fortunately, they continue to improve, and concrete evidences illustrate this improvement. Twenty years ago the first Oriental was elected to the Legislature; he was a Chinese. In a recent session of the Legislature there were 45 Orientals. Until 1943, the Board of Regents of the University of Hawaii had no Orientals, though it did always have representatives of Hawaiian blood. Now it has two Orientals. The first Oriental school principal was appointed in 1935; now there are six in the city of Honolulu. Residential neighborhoods formerly exclusively Caucasian are open now to all racial groups.

It has been said that the peculiar virtue of the Hawaiian racial situation is the fact that the racial problem as such is quite generally ignored, and that it is not admitted as constituting a problem. It has never been considered necessary to have a law guaranteeing equal rights for all. A Fair Employment Practice Act introduced in the Territorial Legislature not long ago was never reported out of committee because it was deemed unnecessary.

But the Christian ideal of interracial justice and charity is not easily achieved; nor has it been in Hawaii. Prejudice may not be intense nor violently expressed, but it is there, and it is profound. One of the causes for the delay and for the repeated investigations by Congress to determine whether or not the Territory was ready

for statehood was the suspicion that racial-bloc voting would become the rule and would make true democracy impossible.

### Religion of People

Christianity was brought to the Islands by the Congregationalists of New England in 1820, and because of the degenerate state of native religions, it met with little opposition. The Mormons, who came in 1850, made rapid progress and are firmly established in Hawaii.

According to government report, Catholicism was permitted to be preached openly only after 1830, but the Catholic missionary effort had begun in 1826 when the Sandwich Islands, as the Hawaiian group was then called, were entrusted to the care of the Fathers of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary. The mission, at first a prefecture apostolic, became a vicariate in 1844 and in 1941 a diocese with Most Reverend James J. Sweeney at its head.

Most of the work of the Church continues to be under the direction of the Fathers of the Sacred Hearts. The 90 priests of the diocese are almost all members of this congregation, and there are 85 other religious men working there, many of them Brothers of Mary who conduct the one Catholic College for boys. There are also four religious orders of women with 294 sisters. Catholic instruction is being given to 9,510 youths, and the total Catholic population in 1940 was approximately 145,000.

### Reasons for Statehood

The Hawaiian Islands, then, for all their beauty, are not quite the paradise of golden beaches, palm-lined avenues and "Alohas" that come to mind at the mention of their name. They are the workaday world of plantation, farm, office and store for half-a-million people. It is natural to wonder why

a territory so remote from the mainland of the United States and already enjoying most of the advantages of American citizenship should desire statehood.

First of all, Hawaii is considerably less remote, even geographically, than is usually imagined. Far from being isolated from the Federal Government as compared with the states, the Territory is more closely tied in with the United States economy and with Federal policy than any of them. It is cheaper to ship goods from the West Coast to Honolulu than from any mid-western city to the West Coast. Air transportation has brought the Islands closer to the mainland.

Secondly, territorial status is considerably different from statehood. The change to the latter would mean, among many other advantages, an increase in dignity, the recognition by the world of Hawaiian political and social maturity. The political responsibility of Hawaiian citizens is indicated by the fact that more than 85 per cent of the registered voters went to the polls in the 1948 election, a vastly greater proportion than has ever done so in any state. Yet, the Hawaiian delegate to Congress, while he may debate and present bills, may not vote, nor is the Territory represented in the Electoral College.

This is an incongruity, and even an injustice, if for no other reason than that internal revenue collections from the Islands were greater in 1944 and 1945 than those made in several of the 48 states. The actual operation of government would undergo little practical change in the switch from territoriality to statehood. But the Congress of the United States would no longer have the power to amend or abrogate laws passed by the Hawaiian Legislature, a power which has, however,

never been exercised. Likewise, the President of the United States would no longer appoint and have the power to remove the Governor of the Islands as he can now with the consent of the Senate.

Hawaii has given adequate practical proof that she is capable of paying her own way; she does so now and has in the past consistently contributed more to the treasury of the United States than has been paid out in her behalf. Her commerce with the mainland exceeds that between the United States and almost every foreign country.

The case for statehood for Hawaii has been subjected to close and certainly protracted scrutiny. There hardly seems reason to deny it any longer. No Territory in the history of the United States has fulfilled the conditions with greater satisfaction nor been more deserving. May 1949 bring the forty-ninth state into the fold of the United States of America.

The position of Hawaii in its application for statehood is clearly presented in this passage from a letter addressed to the members of the 81st Congress by the Hawaii Statehood Commission:

More than 50 years ago Hawaii voluntarily surrendered its status as an independent sovereignty to be incorporated into the United States as an integral part thereof. The organic act established a territorial government to continue until the people of Hawaii qualify themselves to pass from second-class citizenship into full-fledged Americans. We feel certain that when you have examined the record you will concur in the practically unanimous judgment of the large number of your present colleagues and former associates who have journeyed to the Territory for personal investigation. They returned with the firm conviction that Hawaii now meets every proper test for immediate statehood.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Congressional Record*, 95 (1949) A90-91.

# { TRENDS }

## Senate Small Business Committee Ends

The Senate Committee on Banking and Currency has recently voted to discontinue the Small Business Committee and has appointed a sub-committee of its own, headed by Senator Maybank, to handle problems of small business.

The Small Business Committee was created in October, 1940, "to study and survey...all the problems of American small-business...." By the very terms of its mandate, it was doomed to a vague, broad effort, which lacked the vigor and precision brought to their work by, for instance, the LaFollette Committee or the Temporary National Economic Committee. Yet in the course of eight years, the Committee did some outstanding work.

Among its achievements were the establishment of small-business units in the Department of Justice and of Commerce, dispersal among small businesses of much war-time procurement (after a long and partly ineffectual fight for the Smaller War Plants Act and the Corporation set up under the Act), assistance to small businesses in the problems of post-war reversion.

Created to aid small businesses, the Committee inevitably had to do much work as a watch-dog challenging the growth of monopoly. One of its outstanding products was *Economic Concentration and World War II*, a startling disclosure of the monopoly growth that went on during the war. Another Committee print, *Small Business and the Community*, examined the social effects of large- as against small-scale farming (see SOCIAL ORDER 1 [1947-48] 11-14).

A print issued by the Committee while Senator Murray was still chairman of the Committee inaugurated the investigation, carried on under Senator Wherry's leadership, of newspaper concentration in the country. During the 80th Congress, however, the Committee languished.

The successes of the Senate Committee on Small Business were due in good measure to Senator Murray and to the Committee's executive secretary, Mr. Dewey Anderson. Its failures, at least until the

beginning of the 80th Congress, must also be laid, in good measure at their door. But some responsibility for its failures—and for its demise—must be attributed to those who feared what the Committee might have been.

## Priest-Workers in Austria

Catholic newspapers in the United States recently reported that an order has been issued in the diocese of Innsbruck-Feldkirch requiring every seminary student to spend at least two months of the summer vacation working in some factory. Authorities are determined that all priests of the diocese will have some first-hand experiences with the problems of manual labor. Seminarians are to seek their jobs singly or in pairs. Larger groups are not to be permitted in any one factory. Only war veterans have been exempted from the regulation.

## Soil Reclamation Program

Irrigation is an absolute essential for raising crops on much land in the western United States and greatly increases fertility on much more. Since the beginning of the century, the federal government has carried on an extensive program of water control. Up to the present time the Bureau of Reclamation alone has built a reservoir capacity of almost 70,000,000 acre feet of water which has brought into cultivation more than 5,000,000 acres of new or improved crop land. The value of crops grown on this land has already reached an annual level of almost \$600,000,000.

Electric power generation has been a later development. But since 1930, the country has developed a publicly-owned potential of 13,000,000,000 kilowatt hours. TVA, for instance, supplied much of the power required by the huge U-235 plant at Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

There are still vast quantities of unused water in the western states which could be conserved to irrigate more land. Current use exploits only about ten per cent of this tremendously valuable natural resource.



Aside from power uses to which it could be put, there are almost 17,000,000 acres of potentially irrigable land in the same states which could be brought into cultivation.

The Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior, recently published a study outlining its plans for the years 1948-1954. The report listed 276 possible projects, all located in western states, which would vastly increase our use of land, water and power resources. The projects proposed would more than double the amount of land irrigated by B of R and increase the annual value of crops to more than \$725,000,000.

All of these developments, of course, depend upon Congressional appropriations of almost \$4 billion in seven years.

### National Wage Policy

When auto workers or printers receive a wage increase, are the incomes of other workers improved or hurt? What effect will the increase have upon the business concerned, upon business in general?

These complex questions would be extremely difficult to answer, chiefly because they are not enough thought about. Each wage demand is placed in a sort of economic vacuum, in which only the good of the workers involved—and to a certain extent, the industry—is considered.

The recent report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers suggested the possibility of a new national labor-management conference, at which the group would reach "some standards that management and labor could later apply in the course of their negotiations." Among these standards would be a wage structure in relation to prices that will maintain the producing power of industry and the buying power of labor in sound proportions.

What they are recommending, in effect, is the adoption of a national wage policy. Such a policy, which would determine roughly the upward or downward trend of wages and even more roughly the extent of that trend, would have many advantages. It would induce men to take a larger view of their wages than merely their own gain. It would reduce the economic advantages held by large, powerful unions. If generally adopted, such a policy would decrease both the length and the heat of contract negotiation. It would have the tremendous advantage, too, of turning

everyone's attention more fixedly to the common good.

This is not to say that there are no difficulties and obstacles which must be overcome before such a process of wage negotiation could be attempted. To indicate only one: trade-union unity, or at least unanimity, would be indispensable. Neither the willingness so to bargain nor the machinery has yet been evolved. But the plan is an interesting possibility.

What the Council proposes has been suggested by others in recent years. In 1946, Solomon Barkin, chief economist of the Textile Workers Union, presented an idea for national collective bargaining. He hoped to see the gradual development of economy-wide bargaining in which representatives authorized to negotiate for all organized labor would deal with a group representing all industry. Their purpose would be to reach agreement on wage and price policies.

There have been indications recently of increasing interest in this type of negotiation. In a recently-published book, soon to be reviewed in *SOCIAL ORDER*, Arthur M. Ross remarks: "There is profit in discussing wage policy for the economy as a whole, or for a major segment thereof, but as yet there is no bargaining mechanism to which such a discussion can be related" (*Trade Union Wage Policy* p. 88). And he quotes Slichter, who says: "The greatest possibilities of collective bargaining . . . will probably not be achieved until representatives of labor as a whole and of business as a whole are able to fix the broad outlines of a national wage policy" (p. 97).

### Rural Education for Women

In the January, 1949, issue of *Social Justice Review*, there was a brief article on rural education given to women in Switzerland. At the present time, there are 18 cantonal and six private rural schools. Ten in the total of 24 have Catholic teaching staffs, while there are Catholics teaching at the other 14.

The schools are generally operated in connection with agricultural schools for men and attempt to teach the knowledge and skills required of wives and mothers on farms. Sessions held during the summer actually run six months. A winter session for those who are employed during the

summer takes four months.

Principal purpose of the schools is "to instill in the daughters of the farm a love for the life on the land and to mould them into dutiful and responsible women." Religious instruction holds a prominent place in both Catholic and Protestant schools; in the State schools, religion is imparted by the clergy of various denominations.

The other courses deal with ordinary questions of domestic science: cooking, sewing and general housework, more specialized instruction in gardening, care of poultry and other domestic animals, nursing children and the sick, and bookkeeping. Courses are taught at the primary and secondary level. More advanced work is done during a two-year course for girls who have completed studies in the regular schools of domestic science.

More important than the knowledge and skills is the love of farm life imparted in the course of training. All this work is supplemented with rural-life retreats given periodically.

### Workers' Incomes in '47 and '48

Lower-income families had somewhat larger amounts of money to spend in 1948 than in 1947, but rises in prices just about offset the gains. This is the opinion of the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

They report, too, that income in 1947 was higher for all groups as compared with 1941, both in terms of dollars and in real purchasing power. The average money income for each fifth of the nation's families has risen during this time. Here are the figures:

<i>Families ranked from lowest to highest income.</i>	<i>Money Income</i>	
	<i>After taxes</i>	
	1941	1947
Lowest fifth .....	\$ 562	\$ 796
Second fifth .....	1,444	1,933
Third fifth .....	2,421	2,992
Fourth fifth .....	3,523	4,226
Highest fifth .....	7,245	8,574

The position of higher-income families was better in 1948 than in 1947 because of reduced taxes. While tax reduction helped everyone, greatest relief was given to those with highest incomes. Biggest factor in this was the provision allowing husband and wife to divide their income and make two returns in much lower brackets.

Another extremely significant observation

of the Council report is that improvement of income for lower-level families has come about less because of increases in wages or relatively low taxes than from reduction of unemployment and the increase in the number of multi-earner families.

### Socialist Conflict in England

When Ivor Thomas, long-time member of the British Labour Party publicly and heatedly resigned from the Party and "crossed the floor" of Parliament to join the opposition, he gave public evidence of a serious split in party ranks. The issue under debate at the time was nationalization of steel (see "Crucial Point in British Nationalization," ISO BULLETIN, February, 1947, p. 1). "This," Mr. Thomas said, "strikes me as nationalization for the sake of nationalization. It is dogma run mad."

Mr. Thomas' act brought to a head the struggle which has been going between right and left-wing socialists over the extent of socialization to which the British economy must submit. Moderates of the party are determined to halt plans for further nationalization for the present and consolidate the gains that have already been made. With a General Election just over a year away, they want to be able to report substantial improvement in Britain's economic position.

The Party has fulfilled its 1945 pledges, and this group wants to stand on these accomplishments and its plans to build up the national economy as its platform in the elections. They believe that further nationalization just now might jeopardize progress that has been made. Besides, they want more assurance that the British people favor further socializing steps before embarking on such a radical campaign as left-wingers propose.

The old Fabian Society constitutes the spear-head of left-wing agitation. Their program outlines a set of four criteria by which further steps in nationalization should be decided and gives examples of industries that would be affected under their program.

The criteria are:

"1. Where, under private ownership, standards of efficiency have so declined that the financial resources of the state are required to secure the modernization of technique, the installation of new plant and machinery, and the administrative re-

organization necessary to restore the level of production.

"2. There are other industries which are not so inefficient, but where the unification of ownership is necessary to make possible the most effective development—where, in fact, there is need for central coordination which will be best out of private hands—in order to secure lower prices.

"3. Where a private monopoly already exists and has led to high prices, restricted output and backwardness—in fact to general betrayal of enterprise.

"4. Where a basic industry or service which involves key control of our economic life is vested in a few private hands responsible to no one and capable, with misuse, of threatening the continuance of democratic government."

The nation's water supply, broken up now into numerous small systems, is considered an example of an industry in the first category. The Society includes parts of the industries handling retail and wholesale food stuffs, as well as manufacturers of airplane engines, in the second category. Specific recommendations concerning the third category will be postponed until the Monopoly Commission, which is presently investigating ownership concentration, has published its report. Shipping and shipbuilding industries are basic industries misuse of which would be a threat to democratic government.

### Family Allowances in Belgium

Belgium has had a system of family allowances for many years. To a certain extent the system is privately operated, inasmuch as employers are comparatively free to affiliate with any one of several different funds. The result has been that employers have tended to join funds which have relatively small charges because the employe members have comparatively few children. These funds have, as a result, often returned surpluses to employer-members, while other, more burdened funds have barely managed to get along.

The League of Large Families, of which Father Valere Fallon, S.J., is director, has asked that these surpluses be distributed among the funds, because the assistance now being given to many is far below minimum requirements.

For the same reason, the League recom-

mends that supplementary funds granted to orphans and invalid children be paid out of social security appropriations, as was the original intention of the government, instead of from the family allowances funds.

The League of Large Families has been in the vanguard for years in promoting the move toward family allowances and watching administration of the funds.

### Profit Rates Increase

A brief report from the Federal Trade Commission gives figures on increases in the rate of profits after taxes reported by a number of American industrial groups. The increases are measured from 1940 to 1947. Largest rate of increase was observed in the motor-car equipment industry, which supplies large auto manufacturers, where the profits increased by 11.2 per cent. Second-highest rate of increase was in the paper industry, 11.1 per cent. Bakery-product profits rose ten per cent. Closely following were the rayon and office equipment industries, which had increase rates of 9.8 and 9.7 per cent, respectively. All industrial groups included in the report showed increases, except the tobacco industries and engine and turbine manufacturers. The former decline seems due to rising costs of raw tobacco, the latter to a temporary heavy loss by one large corporation.

### Condition of Hired Farm Workers

From a peak of more than three and a half million hired farm workers in July, 1948, the number fell to less than one million in December. Wage rates had also fallen from the summer peak. The national average of wages on January 1, 1949, averaged 60c an hour when all cash rates were converted to per hour equivalents and weighted by the number of workers receiving each type of rate. In the course of the 1948 harvest, 35 inspections by officials of the Wage and Hour Division discovered 89 children employed illegally in the fields. Since inspections are generally made of farms owned by suspected violators of the law, this figure is probably higher than the average, but it indicates that violations are frequent. A few of the children were less than six years old.



# { BOOKS }

THE LABOR LEADER.—By Eli Ginzberg. Macmillan, New York, 1948, xiv, 191 pp. \$3.00.

The author himself disarms us in the introduction where he tells us of this work that "it is scarcely a book in the conventional sense of the term." It is rather a collection of four major essays revolving around material that high-lights the behavior of American labor leaders, an "exploratory study" of a practically virgin field that needs attention.

Part One is an essay on leadership in general, with observations on leadership in the army, the church, in politics. Part Four is a short essay on the prospects for leaders and the led in American labor unions, with some observations on the need for change in attitude, especially the need for reorienting business-unionism into political-unionism.

Perhaps the best part of the book is Part Two, a group of chapters analyzing the executive board memberships of ten well-known and established internationals. Nine of them are AFL, only one is CIO—if we look upon the United Mine Workers as AFL at the time of the writing of this book, the materials of which were gathered about 1940 and substantially composed before the war.

The 627 men who held position on these executive boards from 1900 to 1940 are studied in the light of schooling, age, political affiliation, religious and fraternal associations, their time in office. Here, also, is a very good analysis of the "power of the purse," discussing the financial history of unions.

Part Three, the longest section, is a case study of the origin and development of one single local union, here called the "Parkinstown Local." It is a good description of the practical workings of union organization at the local level pictured from the first rumblings of unsatisfied employes through the various steps of promotional agitation, the gathering of membership, the first contract negotiations, first strike, financial problems, ultimate stability.

The author, an associate professor of

economics at Columbia University, will find very few of the knowledgeable students of the American labor scene, and certainly none of the Catholics, who will agree with at least one of his conclusions, which states categorically:

The day is past when labor can make its position secure through collective bargaining. Private industry can continue to make a significant contribution to the advancement of labor, but labor's future lies with the state.

And he elaborates this with the contention that *only the state* can provide for labor the two things which are their primary objectives—employment and security. To all of which we heartily dissent.

MORTIMER H. GAVIN, S.J.  
ISS

THE CRIMINAL AND HIS VICTIM.—By Hans von Hentig. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1948, viii, 461 pp. \$6.00.

Subtitled "Studies in the Sociobiology of Crime," this volume explores those "interstitial areas where social and constitutional forces enter into combination"—areas which are likely to be lightly treated by the sociologist and the criminal anthropologist.

As a result of his investigation, von Hentig issues a series of challenges to statements which, to judge by their appearance in textbooks, have been accepted by criminologists for a long time. Specifically, he questions whether adequate proof has been offered to justify saying that there is less crime among rural than among urban people (p. 228); that second-generation immigrants have a higher crime rate than the native-born or the foreign-born (p. 290); that movies "cause" crime (p. 375); or that victims of crime are completely innocent in the large majority of cases (p. 384). Much of this is supported by logic and intense analysis; much is based on demonstration that in many cases sta-

tistical procedures are suspect at their source.

Scientifically considered, the book cites plenty of statistics, some from von Hentig's original studies. But, as with all those who study crime, he is handicapped by the general unreliability of official figures. One may pardon him for his facility in stating that correlations exist between certain sets of data (e.g., p. 354) when they are not mathematically presented in the text or tables, since he recognizes the serious defects of methodology that characterize the studies. For example, in speaking of seasonal variations, he says that every approach hitherto made has been "crude and incomplete" (p. 353), and that, at best only, rough generalizations are hidden behind the terms "season" and "crime." Again, criticism could be directed at generalizations arrived at, sometimes, from a few cases.

Yet scholarship is evidenced throughout. However, the author is the first to admit that he does not have all the answers: here and there in the text, he suggests numerous research projects which may help to throw more light on the criminal and his victim. Incidentally, including "the victim" is an interesting innovation, justified on the grounds that the victim is usually available, whereas the criminal is not; if we knew more about the former we might be able more easily to apprehend the latter.

His study of religiosity and crime (pp. 329-342) is of particular interest. Nominated for the department of understatement is his conclusion, after examining some of the evidence: "Convicts seem thus to be more religious-minded than law-abiding people, a distressing result" (p. 334). But he lists a half-dozen limitations of the evidence: 40 to 60 per cent in the general population claim no religious affiliation, but almost 100 per cent of prisoners profess affiliation; membership is not the same as fervor; different denominations have varying age, sex, racial, nationality, rural-urban, and socio-economic distributions; and, for many, membership is mobile and fluctuating.

While all this clearly indicates that if a high percentage of prisoners say they are "Catholic" this does not prove that Catholicism is a cause of crime, the author also believes that the opposite cannot be

proved either: "Any attempt to establish which religious affiliation has the strongest effect in stabilizing and humanizing social groups must fail" (p. 341).

There are other references of interest to Catholics. Thus, a theory is proposed that Catholic gangsters became such as a reaction against religious and nationality discrimination which is more likely to arise in a slum area where differences of economic status, class, and school performance are comparatively non-existent (p. 199). Also, unlike Healy, the author does not rule out "moral imbecility" as "we know that a large section of the general population is made up of slightly defective individuals, and that not a few brilliant minds have presented a deep dysfunction of the moral instinct, whatever this may be and wherever it may be located." (p. 131).

Finally, priests will be happy to know that they are not considered good prospects by confidence men, although the reasons may not be flattering: because "clergymen and other simple souls, like college professors, authors, actors, and so on are difficult to hold down" when they realize they have been tricked; they complain to the police and do not seem to mind if the newspapers publish full accounts of their foolishness and gullibility. (p. 453, fn).

All in all, von Hentig raises many questions and gives tentative answers to some of them. The book is a stimulating experience since it opens up new areas, or focuses attention on areas which have been insufficiently studied. His findings need confirmation by other social scientists if they are to fulfill his aim—"to pave the way for specific and adequate modes of treatment."

BRO. GERALD J. SCHNEPP, S.M.  
Saint Louis University.

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PREJUDICE AND PROPERTY. — By Tom C. Clark and Philip B. Perlman. Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C., 1948. 104 pp. Cloth, \$2.00; Paper, \$1.00.

With slight revision, chiefly to eliminate internal cross references and a 25-page introduction to show the interest of the United States, this little book is a reprint of the brief filed with the U. S. Supreme Court by the Department of Justice for the United States as *amicus curiae* in the

recent cases on racial restrictive covenants.

After a brief survey of the history of statutes to restrict Negro egress from depressed areas and the present status of covenants, the brief reviews the arguments against the legality of court action to enforce such covenants. The argument is three-fold: 1. Judicial enforcement constitutes government action against rights guaranteed by the Constitution (right to acquire property, to compete on terms of equality, to equal treatment before the law), 2. such enforcement is opposed to public policy of the United States as expressed in statutes (the Civil Rights laws of the 1860's and 1870's), in executive pronouncements (establishment of the FEPC, executive orders concerning discrimination in civil service and employment by government contractors), in international agreements (the UN charter, the Declaration of Mexico, which was drafted and accepted at the time of the Act of Chapultepec, March, 1945), 3. such enforcement places a restraint upon alienation.

It will be recalled that the Court reached its decision unfavorable to judicial action to enforce restrictive covenants solely on the basis of the 14th amendment to the Constitution and the Civil Rights act of 1866 (SOCIAL ORDER 1 [1948] 374-375). Consequently the book under review contains much richer data on the question than the opinions of the court and a far wider range of legal considerations.

In the copy of *Prejudice and Property* submitted for review, pages 86 to 99 have been transposed.

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FREEDOM AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE STATE.—By Joseph Rosenfarb. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1948, xiii, 239 pp. \$4.00.

The solution to the politico-economic crisis of our day, the thesis of this work runs, is a constantly planned economy, founded on private enterprise and democratically controlled, which the author terms the "administrative state." This entity, with its problems and patterns, is the subject of the four main subdivisions of the book.

Book One treats of the formation of the administrative state as the final resultant of man's primary urge, the quest for power; many factors contribute to socialize

and curb this power urge. Organization, coupled with the modern phenomenon of division of labor, is a principal feature of this socialization process.

It is most necessary in the largest social unit we know, the State. Hence, to stabilize the modern interplay of power urges and to avert chaos, an over-all State integration of our entire economy is demanded. A blueprint for the future would comprise three public planning agencies—one to estimate needs, another to tally resources, and a third to integrate production.

The reconciliation of our ideas of freedom with such an administrative state forms the subject of Book Two. Cultural, economic and political freedoms are assessed and allotted their respective orbits. The leadership problem is paramount; our safeguard in the social struggle lies in keeping the avenues of leadership fluid and dynamic.

In analyzing labor relations, the subject of Book Three, the author wisely confined himself to the current United States scene and its immediate background. In weighing the position of organized labor, the right to strike is found to have been lost, at least in the key industries, and hence, government intervention becomes imperative if labor's rights are to survive. The Taft-Hartley bill is deplored for its long-term effects, but implicitly approved in some of its provisions. High praise is accorded the Wagner Act.

In the Fourth Book are found some general concepts of democracy, law, federalism, etc., but above all, sounds the urgent practical note—our crying need for more and better uniform federal laws. Division of labor is needed in government as well as in industry — hence, integration must take place here above all. The deficiencies of our presidential system in comparison with the British cabinet system are pointed out; finally, the administrative organs already visualized, are fitted into our own political scene, and their relations with the President and Congress are adumbrated.

Had the author based his theory merely on an accurate analysis of our current problems, and omitted much of his incidental remarks on philosophy, psychiatry and anthropology, his treatment would have achieved a finer unity and a greater effectiveness. His central theory, an attempt to reconcile essential liberty of action with a controlled economy, is a restatement of



New Deal policies; the answer he demands seems to have received a partial answer in the last election. Political scientists, economists and students of labor will find a remarkable trend toward the theory outlined here in the enunciated policies of the President in his annual message to Congress.

Although this book represents a sound grasp of the immediate and practical difficulties confronting our nation, and presents one possible solution, yet to many of the more ultimate political and philosophical theories advanced, we must take exception. The entire picture is materialistic and frankly amoral. If such a philosophy of half-truths were to govern the conduct of the administrative state, we could scarcely accept such total domination.

SAMUEL R. WILEY, S.J.  
Woodstock College

THE MORE PERFECT UNION.—By

Robert M. MacIver. Macmillan, New York, 1948, 311 pp. \$4.00.

Noted for his realistic approach to the study of social forces, Dr. MacIver here looks into group relations, their tensions, rifts and cleavages, and then advances a program for the control of racial inter-group discrimination in the United States. This is the first investigation of its kind and the first comprehensive evaluation of the various plans and programs now operating in the field of race relations. *This work should, and undoubtedly will, influence the whole future course of American race relations.*

The author limits his study to race discrimination and prejudice on the assumption that, though religious prejudice is "one of the major bases of inter-group discrimination in the United States," yet it is primarily race conflict that is a threat to "the democratic faith, the historical process, the integrity, and the very being of the American people." Whether or not the assumption is valid, one regrets that his stimulating study was not extended to include religious as well as race prejudice.

Like many modern American sociologists, MacIver so preoccupies himself with group concepts that he seems to forget that groups consists of individuals. "Discrimination is the concerted behavior of a group, guarded by social sanctions and some-

times by legal enactments." "Prejudice is a way of feeling, a bias of disposition, with many variations from individual to individual, even though they may all be susceptible to group indoctrination." It is arbitrary to limit discrimination to group behavior; an individual can discriminate (that is, act from prejudiced motivation) without reference to his fellow group-members and, in every case, group discrimination involves individual prejudice and discrimination.

Though the book can claim distinction in its whole attitude towards prejudice and discrimination, it is especially noteworthy for its clear demand for more comprehensive, strategic and effective planning and coordination among the agents now working in group relations. The author criticizes the excessive preoccupation of current sociological studies with data and sterile investigation. Even Myrdal's monumental inquiry, he says, is of little help to the framers of social policy.

Framers of social policy work on three fronts: the economic, the political and the educational. Here, then, the greatest influence can be exerted, provided the diverse agencies coordinate their programs. Limited, unrelated effort Dr. MacIver scores as a clear waste, a delaying drag and a lack of vision. To promote a more efficient and effective campaign against group intolerance, he proposes insistence upon the dynamic value of the common good, upon the need to recognize human likenesses before differences. This approach, he shows, has led to solid accomplishment. And he analyzes the strategy, pointing out, for example, that in certain economic situations minorities meet less opposition than elsewhere — strategically an all-important consideration. Similarly, in politics several successful experiments by state and federal government in positive action to reduce discrimination indicate ways to further progress. And education, according to MacIver, would have as its primary function in this matter to reveal the nature and consequences of discrimination, the teaching, of course, being simultaneously put into practice. In all fields, a most important principle is that planned advances must be strategically utilized as starting points for new advances.

The most valuable part of this valuable book is the last chapter. There eight broad

lines of strategy are given as the practical conclusions of the whole study. They are well worth serious consideration by every student, publicist, writer, preacher, pastor, teacher. Various well-planned programs are set forth for each of the three main fronts. In each, MacIver repeats a fundamental truth: *contacts must bridge the cleavages*, and "to be fully significant, these contacts should bring people together in cooperative activity toward common goals" (p. 268). Of all groups, Catholics, who possess such magnificent common goals and such splendid common means—and Catholic leaders, whose responsibility it is to teach unity—should be the first to bridge the cleavages.

RAYMOND BERNARD, S.J.  
Saint Mary's College

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WHY MEN WORK.—By Alexander R. Heron. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1948, ix, 197 pp. \$2.75.

This is the second of three works thus far published by Heron in this series. The first, *Sharing Information With Employees*, stressed the need for understanding on the part of the workforce; in this second work the emphasis is on the idea of enlisting intelligent and willing interest through release of the worker's innate desire for participation in the planning and managing of his labor contribution.

Heron's record qualifies him to speak with authority. He has been a vice-president of the Crown-Zellerbach organization and director of industrial relations there; he has been consulting professor in Industrial Relations at Stanford; he held rank in the Army during the war as Chief of Civilian Personnel.

His book is thoughtful and yet easy reading. There is a wealth of concrete example, drawn from wide acquaintance with the problems of union-worker-management relations. Most satisfying is his splendid objectivity; despite his intimate knowledge of the foibles and the shortcomings of all the parties involved, he is never blinded by details and never loses perspective. He takes cognizance of scores of impinging circumstances, but the analysis follows the main thread with good logic and clear vision.

That thread, his main thesis, is that men will not put forth their best service and

their greatest productive efforts unless they are given "opportunity to share in the task of thinking" about the job, the industry, the product, and the relation of them all to the common good. Strikes, slowdowns, labor turnover, reduced productivity, featherbedding, pay for time not worked, the deadening influence of straight seniority, the unionization of foremen—these are but phases of the negative question of why men do *not* work. Heron's goal is to find what it is that answers the question why men *do* work. "If we want workers to work as a team, to work willingly and well, we must give them the right to think."

Historical attitudes of management, present difficulties, possible methods of increasing this sharing in the task of thinking and planning are valuable and understanding chapters. The reader will find especially incisive the chapter titled, "The Boundaries of Management," and the one that follows it, "Halfway in a Revolution"; together they form another trenchant, but optimistic, appraisal of the present position of "management prerogatives."

MORTIMER H. GAVIN, S.J.  
ISS

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PRELIMINARY DRAFT OF A WORLD CONSTITUTION. — As Proposed and Signed by Robert M. Hutchins, G. A. Borgese, Mortimer J. Adler, Stringfellow Barr, Albert Guerard, Harold A. Innis, Erich Kahler, Wilber G. Katz, Charles H. McIlwain, Robert Redfield, Rexford G. Tugwell. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1948, vii., 92 pp. \$2.00.

In November, 1945, the University of Chicago proposed an Institute of World Government to study the problem of international organization in a world in which the atom bomb had just become a terrible reality. Political scientists, legal scholars, and students of culture and sociology composed the Institute. It formed itself into a Committee to Frame a World Constitution and held 13 meetings of two or three days each from November, 1945, to July, 1947. The Committee has already published 150 documents comprising about 4,500 pages of its work. Since July, 1947, its work has been reaching a wider audience in *Common Cause*, a monthly magazine published by the Committee. Among



these documents is this text of a World Constitution. In October, 1947, this World Constitution was submitted to a restricted number of leaders and experts, and immediately after the same text, with only slight modifications, was reprinted by *The Saturday Review of Literature* and the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*.

The present volume is composed of an introduction by Robert M. Hutchins and G. A. Borgese, the text of the constitution, a summary report on criticisms offered to the constitution, an index of committee documents, two unrelated appendices, and a most bizarre four pages of "Concordances." This last section is, by all odds, the weakest part of the book. It comprises platitudes on unity from Bolivar, Erasmus, Mahabharata, Mo-Ti, Mohammed Rumi, Dante, Kropotkin, Fichte, Dostoevsky, etc. Beginning with a quotation from the Acts of the Apostles, "Concordances" closes with a quotation from Euripides: "Zeus, whether thou art Compulsion of Nature or Intelligence of Mankind, to thee I prayed." Obviously attempting to show community of striving toward peace and brotherhood, "Concordances" manifests rather how fundamentally opposed in theology, culture, and political philosophy the men of the world are. The radical weakness of the framers of this World Constitution is that they do not appreciate the importance of this opposition, but rather they think that a juridical instrument, with a dash of right thinking and a little good will, will be all that is required for peace.

The weakness of this preliminary draft of a World Constitution, which is not so clearly recognized by its framers, is a lack of appreciation of the strength of historic states, together with recognition of the importance of differing civilizations and cultures. Actually, democracy is not nearly so omnipotent as the framers believe—the statement of Mazzini that "he who makes of democracy a religion will save the world" is quoted as being "expressive of views and expectations prevalent in the Committee." The fundamental error is a conviction that man needs only good will and intellectual courage, and he can unite the world.

NICHOLAS J. SULLIVAN, S.J.  
Woodstock College

## LIBERTY AGAINST GOVERNMENT.

—By Edward S. Corwin. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1948, xiii, 198 pp. \$3.00.

In an article I wrote for SOCIAL ORDER (1 [1948] 215) on the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights I cautiously suggested that the proposed program embodied a new philosophy of government and liberty completely at variance with what might be called our American tradition. I was not so sure that the new would be politically better than the old. Mr. Corwin in this book assures me that hesitancy at this point is futile since the new has already supplanted the old. What he attempts to do is trace the history of that change.

The change occurred when the "due process" clause ceased to be interpreted as a mere adjectival norm and came to mean a "reasonable" exercise of the police power; when judicial review no longer restricted itself to the written constitution as the full expression of the law, but began to admit concepts of a higher law; and when the doctrine of vested rights was forced to yield to the exigencies of civil rights.

No one decision of the Court nor any one period of history marks the line of demarkation. The process of development was long and gradual. Eventually, however, there emerges a new "reformist" conception of liberty which demands not only the continuance of the existing way of life, but the improvement of that way of life. Respect for this claim is reflected by the Court's recognition that liberty can be infringed by forces other than government.

The argument of the book is not always easy to follow, and this is particularly true when the author delves into the Roman and English backgrounds. Yet, even when involved, the discussion is stimulating.

A hint might be given to the prospective reader to bear in mind throughout that only one of many possible conceptions of liberty is being considered: namely, that conception which is juridical and which views liberty as a personal possession likely to be endangered by a power-conscious government. It is reducibly the conception of liberty we commonly associate with laissez faire and liberalism.

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